

IN THESE TIMES

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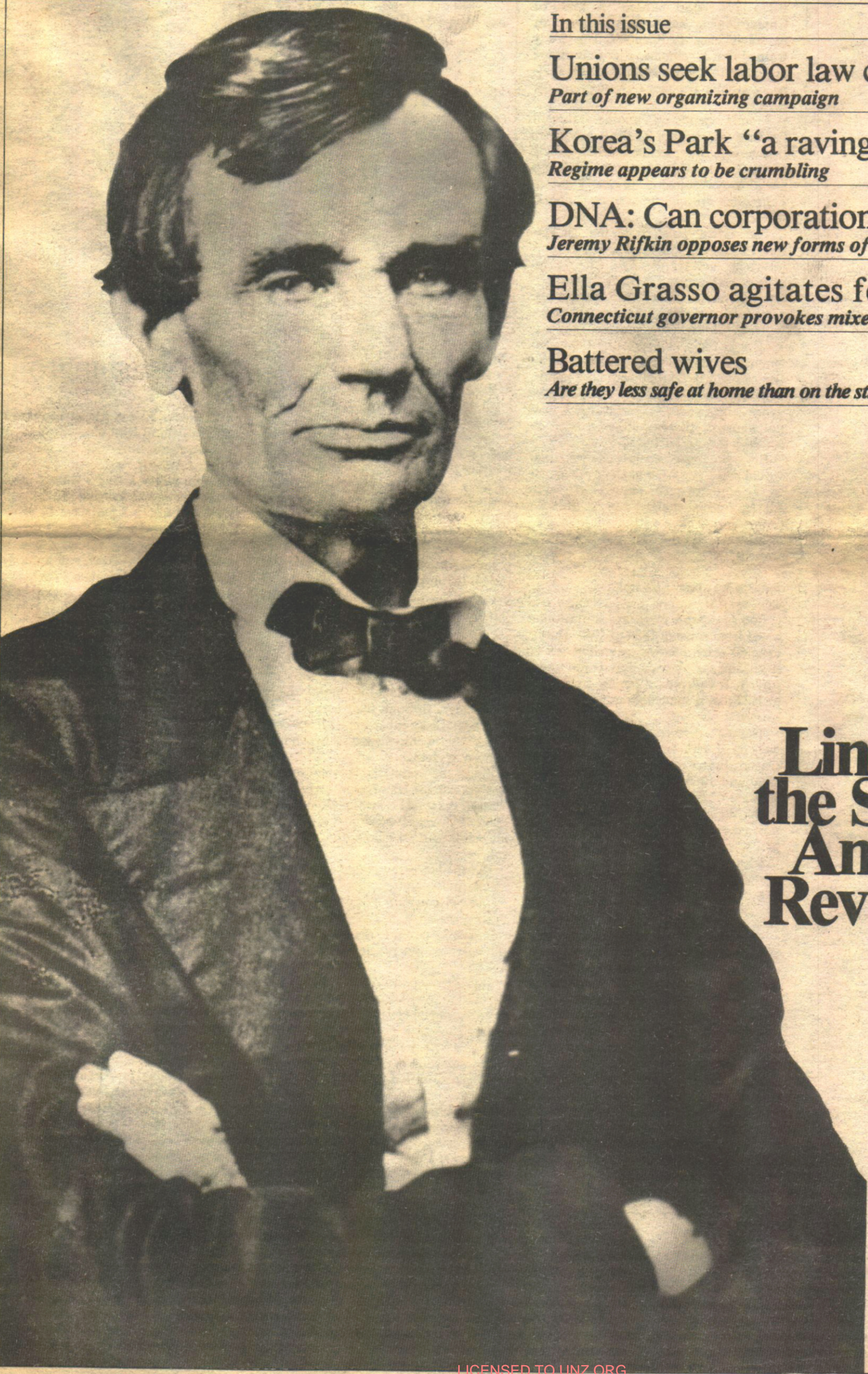
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NEWSFRONT

The ice age cometh?

Postglacials, interglacials

Of course, the CIA knew about it all along. Last May the CIA released a classified 1974 report entitled "A Study of Climatological Research As It Pertains to Intelligence Problems." The study warned that a "climatic change is taking place and that it has already caused major economic problems throughout the world."

Among scientists a running argument has been taking place for the last six years over how to interpret the marked cooling of the Earth, which began in 1940 and has already resulted in an over 1 degree Fahrenheit drop in the average temperature.

The "interglacials" argue that the current 35 year old cold spell foreshadows a return to another Ice Age. The "post-glacials" argue that it is only part of short-term fluctuations that in fact foreshadow a gradual warming of the planet.

Bruce Gladfelter, a professor of geography at the University of Illinois, attempted to allay the fears that these speculations might produce in ordinary minds. Whatever the changes, he told *In These Times*, they would take centuries. "It is not a case of all of a sudden there is an ice sheet in your backyard."

But while spectacular changes that would drive everyone to their graves, or to the Equator, are centuries off, even subtle, gradual changes can, as the CIA report notes, have a dramatic effect on agricultural production and energy resources.

►An Ice Age within an Ice Age?

The present cooling period followed a period of notable planetary warmth that lasted from roughly 1880 to 1940. During these 60 years, modern agriculture got its start, and the planet's population quadrupled. It followed a period from 1200 to 1880 that is sometimes called the "little ice age."

The post-1940 cooling is beginning to have its effects. In England the growing season shrank nine or ten days between 1950 and 1966. In the U.S. spring and summer frosts now plague crops.

But these periods of cooling and warmth take place within a broader one billion year perspective. Within that, epochs in which ice has more or less covered the globe have alternated with epochs in which no ice has existed on the face of the globe and in which average temperature is as high as 72 degrees Fahrenheit.

With ice at the poles and an average temperature of 58 degrees, we are still living within an ice epoch. Within this epoch, there are thaws and freezes that occur roughly every 100,000 years and last about 10,000 years.

We are presently living within a thaw



that began about 10,000 years ago, at the end of what is commonly referred to as the "Ice Age," and that witnessed the birth and development of human civilization.

The controversy among scientists begins here. Is the present period of erratic weather part of fluctuations that will invariably precede a postglacial period where ice will no longer be present on the Earth? Or are they harbingers of the end of the 10,000 year thaw?

Gladfelter stresses that either interpretation may be correct, but in commenting on the interglacial hypothesis he admits that "as we understand the information now, it is a sensible projection."

►The human element.

But Gladfelter also emphasizes that a new element that may affect the natural cycles has entered the scene. By modifying the atmosphere through their activities, human beings may either "intensify or counteract what would otherwise be a natural pattern of change."

Since the industrial revolution, the widespread use of organic fuels has increased the level of carbon dioxide in the planet by over 10 percent. Carbon dioxide tends to hold heat within the atmosphere.

But the increase in what scientists call "particulate matter" and what others would call pollution keeps heat out by reflecting the sun's rays. A permanent drop of 1.6 to 2 percent in the energy reaching the earth would precipitate another ice age.

But scientists do not yet have the information to estimate how these changes in the atmosphere have affected or will affect the earth's weather in the long run. "It remains to be seen," Gladfelter says, "to what extent the global system has been modified."

►What causes the winds?

Gladfelter is also skeptical about the ability of scientists to explain short term climatic changes—the cold and drought this winter, the previous drought in Africa and northwest Europe. In each case, scientists can point to immediate causes, but cannot fit these into a total picture.

This winter's cold spell and drought were caused by the movement of the westerly winds that normally sweep down to bring cold and rain to most of the U.S. in winter. This year they swept farther southward than usual, but in an arc that left the far western U.S. warm and dry.

Why did the winds sweep farther south this year? "We're not sure," Gladfelter says. "We don't have enough information."

In Washington

● President Jimmy Carter continued to take the path of least corporate resistance in his economic proposals, but the weather may prove his undoing. Last week, Congress passed Carter's natural gas bill, which attempts to increase the fuel supply in the midwest and northeast by allowing interstate prices to skyrocket.

But skyrocketing prices, along with growing unemployment, will put a damper on Carter's other plans. There are already signs that Carter is edging toward wage-price controls, a measure that he is said to favor privately but that he has renounced publicly because of business and labor opposition. Last week, he announced to Congress that he would strengthen the powers of the Council on Wage and Price Stability.

● A rerun of the Ted Sorensen affair is brewing around Carter's nomination of another Trilateral Commission member, Paul Warnke, as his chief arms limitation negotiator. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) has led the charge.

He told the Senate that Warnke had once said, "Even substantial nuclear superiority short of nuclear monopoly could not be a decisive factor in any political confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union." For doubting that every little missile counts, Dunn and other Senate hawks want to prevent Warnke's nomination.

● Jimmy Carter's U.N. representative Andrew Young seemed to be exercising his independence last week. In London, on the way to Africa, Young was asked whether he thought that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola made future guerrilla war inevitable.

"No, it's not assured," Young replied. "In fact, there's a sense in which the Cubans bring a certain stability and order to Angola and that the enemy all over the world, I think, is chaos."

State department spokesperson Fred Brown, when asked about Young's remark, replied curtly, "Neither Ambassador Young nor the Secretary of State condones the presence of Cuban troops in Angola."

● In Panama, the government of Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos has taken heart from Carter's appointment of Sol Linowitz to head the negotiating team for the canal talks. Linowitz has previously argued for agreeing to eventual Panamanian ownership of the canal.

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Unions push labor law reform

Organizing unorganized plants a new priority with the establishment of coordinating committee.

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

Since the dynamic union drives of the 1930s, the labor movement's efforts to organize the unorganized have stalled under the weight of Taft-Hartley restrictions, hostile public opinion prompted by long strikes and labor corruption and the apparent reluctance of entrenched union leaders to seek aggressively new members. But labor is warming up its organizing engines once again, with the AFL-CIO overhauling its organizing mechanism and preparing—in cooperation with individual unions—to clear away the legal barriers to unionization.

Labor also believes that the political climate this year—a Carter administration beholden to labor, an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress and gradual economic recovery—is more favorable to organizing than at any time since the early '60s. At the same time, the flight of industry from the unionized North to the open shop South has made it imperative for labor to step up its organizing efforts there to recoup its lost membership.

Labor's renewed commitment is suggested by two recent developments. The AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers (UAW) are throwing their full political weight behind the "whole concept of labor law reform," especially a bill introduced by Rep. Frank Thompson (D-N.J.) that would significantly strengthen the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).

At the same time, the AFL-CIO has created a new "organizing coordinating committee" to encourage cooperation between unions in organizing campaigns and to collectively analyze management's anti-union tactics.

►Reform of the NLRA

Reform of the NLRA has emerged as a clear priority for labor's legislative activities in the 95th Congress. "We absolutely have to have some kind of reform in labor law," says Steven Schlossberg, general counsel of the UAW. "The present structure of the act means that management can defeat any union in the South by using the delay procedures. It becomes cheaper to discharge all the ringleaders of an organizing campaign than pay union wages."

Unionists complain that employers engage in "inordinate, excessive, unnecessary and capricious" delays so that representation elections are held after the momentum of organizing drives have passed. And since the National Labor Relations Board has no enforcement powers, employers have no financial incentives to obey its rulings.

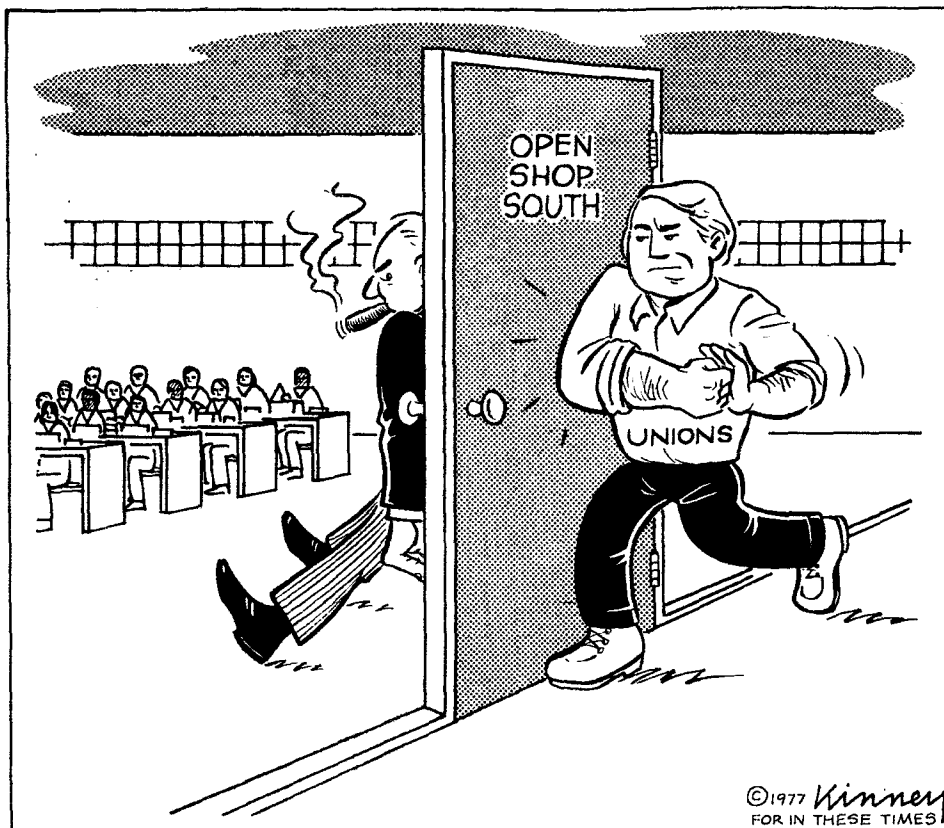
Thompson's bill, the Labor Reform Act of 1977 (HR77), would require that union recognition elections be held within 45 days after the election petition has been filed, even if employers' complaints are still to be satisfied. If differences exist about the composition of the bargaining unit or the eligibility of specific workers, the votes would be impounded and counted after those objections were resolved.

Several provisions of the bill would speed up NLRB procedures. Administrative law judges in various regions would be empowered to make final decisions for the board, with full board holding discretionary review power. In addition, a union would be automatically certified if 55 percent of the relevant workforce signed authorization cards. Observers say this provision will be especially controversial, since employers charge that it eliminates secret ballot protection.

The Thompson bill would also grant enforcement powers to the board. Workers fired for union activities would be awarded triple damages from the company. And employers who repeatedly violate board directives would be ineligible for federal contracts.

►Thompson bill highest priority

Business Week speculates that the Thompson bill is the focus of labor's political prowess and that other reforms—like the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act that allows state right to



OPEN SHOP...CLOSED DOOR

work laws—have been introduced as a diversionary tactic. "It's very early in the Congressional session and we haven't fully discussed our legislative strategy," says Evelyn Dubrow, lobbyist for the International Ladies Garment Workers. While the Thompson bill is a top priority, she believes that repeal of 14(b), common site picketing (a bill vetoed by Ford last year) and minimum wage legislation will also head labor's agenda.

"I can attach no higher priority to a piece of legislation than to the Thompson bill dealing with labor law," says Schlossberg of the UAW, on the other hand. "What good is the right to do any kind of picketing, situs or otherwise, if you can't organize unions because companies are moving to the South? What good is the right to union security through the repeal of 14(b) if you can't organize people?"

While the Thompson bill is debated in Congress, similar procedural changes in the National Labor Relations Board may be implemented by a special union-management committee created by outgoing board chairman Betty Murphy. Final comments on recommended changes will be heard this month. But regardless of how the NLRA is amended, the AFL-CIO intends to place more energies into union organizing through its "organizing coordinating committee."

The primary purpose of the committee, which is composed of organizing directors of AFL-CIO affiliates, will be to meet regularly to examine political, economic and tactical problems collectively. The AFL-CIO hopes this committee will eventually develop the clout of the Committee on Political Education (COPE), though it will not distribute union funds in the beginning.

"The other purpose is to promote the idea of cooperative organizing where unions in a given area pool their resources and assist one another at critical points in organizing campaigns," says Alan Kistler, director of the AFL-CIO's Organization and Field Services Dept.

Coordinated organizing campaigns exist throughout the South in an ad hoc form, Kistler says. The new committee is intended to provide a "continuing mechanism" for such efforts.

►Aids to southern organizing

Both the Thompson bill and the "organizing coordinating committee are expected to aid union organizing in the South. The much-discussed Sun Belt is a largely untapped bonanza for Northern capital, offering low wages, abundant land, a labor force starved for jobs, right to work laws and a low level of unionization. Man-

ufacturing employment in the South has increased 43 percent in the last 15 years, compared with only 3 percent in the Great Lakes area.

Northern industrialists increasingly evade unions by transferring production to southern states. General Motors, for instance, has pursued a not-so-subtle southern strategy by building seven new plants there and fighting unionization with tactics reminiscent of the 1920s. The UAW recently won an important organizing victory in Monroe, La., after GM agreed in the last contract to remain neutral in the union's campaign. "As soon as

they stopped saying that the union bosses wanted to take away the workers' jobs, we won the election," says Schlossberg.

The textile industry in the South has battled unions for decades by firing pro-union workers, threatening to close organized plants, and blatantly violating labor laws. The J.P. Stevens Co., for example, has discharged hundreds of union sympathizers. Stevens, the second largest American textile firm, has violated NLRB rulings 15 times while still receiving over \$100 in Defense Department contracts since 1968. Because the company is considered the key to organizing the entire textile industry, it is now the focus of a nationwide consumer boycott by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

While the prospects for a resurgence in union organizing look good, some doubt the AFL-CIO's commitment and willingness to employ organizing techniques that will attract women, young workers, minorities and white-collar employees.

AFL-CIO president George Meany, who is expected to retire this fall, has not always been an outspoken champion of union organizing. In 1972, Meany was questioned about the proportional decline in labor's membership since World War II. "Why should we worry about organizing groups of people who do not appear to want to be organized?" he responded. "If they prefer to have others speak for them and make the decisions which affect their lives, without effective participation on their part, that is their right."

Meany may have changed his rhetoric in 1977. "Organizing has always been a priority objective of the American labor movement," he recently told AFL-CIO organizers. It's the duty of America's unions, Meany declared, to give the nation's unorganized workers an opportunity "to be represented, to take part in collective bargaining, and to become part of this union movement."

South Korea's Park sinks from U.S. betrayal

By James Stentzel
Pacific News Service

As the South Korean bribery and intelligence scandals mounted in the final months of 1976, key South Korean government officials and newspaper editors here privately began questioning President Park Chung Hee's mental stability.

Sources with direct access to the Blue House, Park's official residence, say that as the scandals reached a crescendo in the American press, Park reacted by alternately raging at his staff and sitting back, dumb and bewildered.

The news of South Korean bribery of U.S. officials and businessmen, and of the U.S.'s alleged bugging of the Blue House, so infuriated Park that on occasions he "began screaming like a raving lunatic," said one Korean source.

An American diplomat, who chooses his words carefully, described Park as "psychotic."

"Park has always been fanatic about control," said the diplomat. "Now he is just fanatic, as that control is threatened."

Some sources, who refused to be identified for fear of retaliation, fear Park and the government showed unmistakable signs of losing touch with changing world realities. When Park was not raging, they say, he simply refused to believe American government statements on the still unfolding scandal—or even that Jimmy Carter was elected President.

The problem, these sources say, appears to be linked to two years of total government suppression of everything but good news and the consequent mind-set against bad news.

The government's policy of strict censorship at home and buying off trouble

abroad with cash, women, parties, trips and honorary degrees has worked for so long that Park is now incredulous at its sudden collapse.

Park's greatest concern—even beyond the scandals themselves—was that Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger, two trusted friends who had visited South Korea and praised the Park government during the harshest repression and the heaviest bribery, betrayed him during their final months in office by not burying the scandal.

►First rule of Park

Park's dictatorial control rests firmly on the notion that to question his authority is an attempt to undermine it—a concept popularly known as the First Rule of Park.

This was defied by the Thanksgiving Day defection of Kim Sang Keun, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency's number two man in the U.S., and his decision to provide details on the spreading KCIA scandal in return for political asylum in the U.S.

Kim's refusal to obey orders to return home was viewed as the highest crime in Park's book, and Park is said still to be shocked by Kim's incomprehensible and treasonable act.

Kim's defection came on the heels of an even more disturbing revelation. The *Washington Post* had disclosed in October that Park personally had directed the U.S. bribery scheme for six years and that U.S. intelligence sources knew this from having bugged the Blue House.

This news, sources say, sent Park into a series of temper tantrums—first when

Continued on Page 9.

IN THE NATION

Who will control new forms of life?

In *These Times*' Washington reporter Sarah James talked last week with Jeremy Rifkin, director of the Peoples Business Commission, an outgrowth of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, about PBC's campaign around private industry research with Recombinant DNA.

Q: How and why did the Peoples Business Commission get involved with a campaign around genetic research?

A: This is the first major campaign of the newly-organized Peoples Business Commission. We chose this effort because we believe that the creation of new forms of life will become one of the most important if not the most important—social issue society has ever had to deal with.

With the splitting of the DNA nucleus and the unlocking of the secrets of life itself, we've now moved into a new epoch that has not yet been identified. I call it the "Organic Age" because I think that's the best way to look at it. We now move into a period of history where human beings can literally play god and can literally change life itself. It covers everything. It will make the nuclear age and computer technology look like little league in a hundred years.

How are you organizing the campaign?

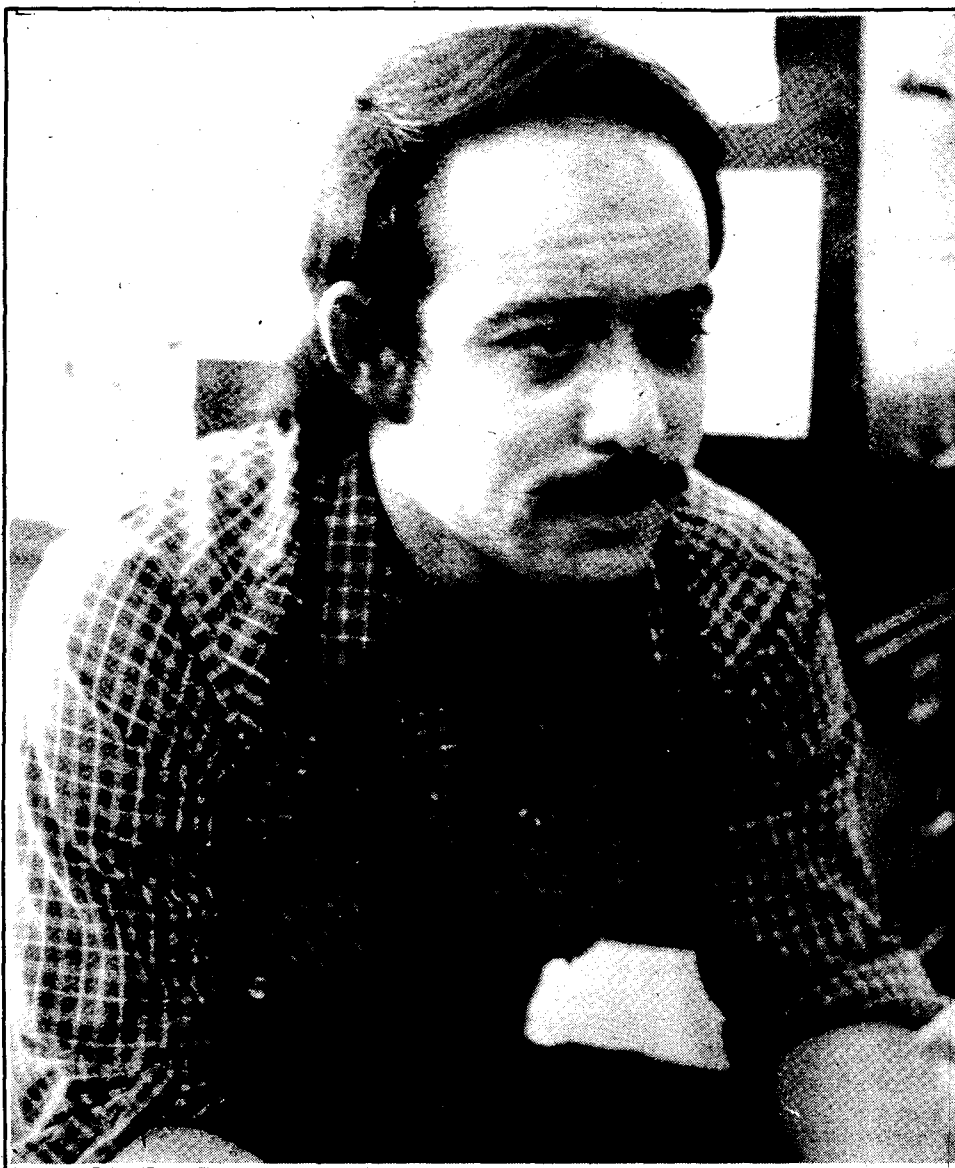
The campaign will alert about 150,000 opinion makers. We have already sent an article on DNA and a cover letter to 35,000 religious leaders in the six states where commercial laboratories are operating or are about to begin research, saying that this is perhaps the most important moral and social question ever raised in any society.

We have recommended the following to them: inform your congregation; bring it up within your own denomination; demand public hearings; call for accountability by your elected officials, etc.

We're also sending this to every public official, every health official, every media source, every corporate executive, every union official. We are even hand delivering, right now, special alert letters to the 1,000 homes closest to the laboratory sites in these cities.

How does your approach differ from other attempts to raise the issue of DNA research?

If you look at all the information coming out of the academic and scientific community, not once did they ever mention private industry, or they barely mentioned private industry or the private application of the research. If you look



Jeremy Rifkin, PBC director: never an issue like this.

at the past history of every other scientific development, as soon as something is developed in the academic laboratory, the capitalist system goes and appraises it, takes it over and controls it.

We should have assumed way before this that the big question here is the control of this in private hands, for private profit.

The other big thing on this controversy is that the argument has mainly been on technical grounds. Is it safe or unsafe, in terms of laboratory conditions, to conduct this research? There's been almost no discussion of the social and moral implications, or who should make the decisions on the creation of new forms of life.

First of all, I don't think you can win on that. If environmental groups and sci-

entists or critics continue to argue along the safety question, they're going to lose because for every expert you get on one side of the safety question saying it's unsafe, they'll bring out 100 scientists on the other side saying it's safe. We should have learned our lesson from nuclear technology.

The real question, and the question that I think is going to create a maelstrom of protest within a period of time in this country—out in Middle America—is the social question. It's relevant to different people for different reasons. The fundamentalist white Southern Baptist is going to be concerned about artificial tinkering with evolution. A young, black militant in Detroit is going to be concerned about genetic engineering. A factory worker is going to be concerned, a

Unitarian ethical culturalist—it crosses all boundaries.

Do you think people should entrust this research to our governmental institutions?

That question raises contradictions. One local minister told me, "I don't want corporations doing it. I don't want the government to do it." So, who's left? What it's going to do is force us as a people to stand up and realize that the institutions that govern our lives, whether they be private industry or the federal government, are inadequate to meet this test because those institutions don't represent all the people. Maybe we're going to have to think of a whole set of institutions that are more accountable to the people in the neighborhoods and communities of this country.

All these years I've been involved in issues and I've never seen an issue that potentially could get to an emotional chord among millions of people and raise the fundamental problems of this capitalist system and government dominated by the major business interests.

How do you think people can begin to control the situation?

I'll tell you what I think we should do right now. There should be an immediate moratorium on all further experimentation. Secondly, there should be a full-scale national public awareness program, debate raised from the executive offices, through the halls of Congress to every church pulpit, to the schools of America.

I think the American people have got to be informed before we can even make the second step. People will say, well how will you stop private industry from doing it? It's not very difficult. Stop the patents and you stop private industry. If simple legislation is passed saying private industry cannot patent new forms of life, they'll get out of it. They can't make a profit if they don't have proprietary control over what they develop.

I think we're going to have to come to grips with the organic age. It's going to happen and it is happening. It's already in motion. I think the most important thing to emphasize is that we cannot afford to be trapped into looking at this as an issue of whether it's safe or unsafe to conduct these experiments.

It is an issue of who should control the decisions on life. If we get trapped on a public interest perspective on this, corporate America is going to win it. ■

By Sarah James
Washington Bureau

Who controls genetic engineering in the U.S.? The People's Business Commission, a rebirth of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, has disclosed that not only are 37 universities experimenting with recombining genetic material under loose, voluntary regulations and amid much public controversy, but seven private corporations are also experimenting without any control or any public knowledge at all, and more companies plan to begin such research in the near future.

The genetic engineering is called Recombinant DNA and involves the breaking down of DNA (the basic material determining the hereditary characteristics of life) from different organisms and then recombining them in different patterns.

Research began some three years ago, but it is only recently that widespread controversy has broken out. The pros and cons of the research has become a public issue within the scientific community and in university communities near where research has been carried out. Last fall, President Ford named an Interagency Committee to

Peoples Business Commission attacks private DNA research

At least seven major corporations are secretly working with DNA.

study the issue and to set up a system of regulations, the first of which were put into effect last November. The committee, however, was dominated by men with past corporate connections and critics charge that the regulations are too weak and lacking in effective power.

But these regulations, such as requiring the use of weakened bacteria that are supposed to be too weak to live outside a laboratory, apply only to university research. Private research is conducted in an atmosphere of almost total secrecy, reminiscent, *Medical World News* says, of "the atmosphere surrounding biological warfare research a few years ago." Government officials admit that they do not even know what corporations are experimenting or where their laboratories are located.

According to the PBC, the seven major American pharmaceutical companies that are now or will soon be conducting recombinant DNA research are: Miles Laboratories in Rochester, N.Y. and South Bend, Ind.; Eli Lilly & Co. in Indianapolis; Hoffman-LaRoche in Nutley, N.J.; the Upjohn Co. in Kalamazoo, Mich.; Merck, Sharpe & Dohme Research Laboratories in Rahway, N.J.; Pfizer, Inc. in Groton, Conn.; and Abbott Laboratories in North Chicago, Ill. They also say that at least nine other corporations involved in drugs, chemicals and agricultural products are investigating potential applications of the research.

What are the dangers of recombining DNA? For starters, most experiments utilize a type of bacteria found in the intestinal tracts of human beings. Though advocates of the re-

search hope to obtain new superdrugs, hormones and methods of curing genetically transmitted diseases, opponents warn that there is also the possibility of creating new disease-carrying bacteria, of a rapidly spreading, uncontrollable plague. They explain there is presently no way to predict what forms will be created; scientists can only study the results.

Recombinant DNA research could also be used to manipulate human reproduction. Some scientists, like Dr. James Bonner of the California Institute of Technology, have argued that with growing population pressure those children who are permitted to be born "should be provided with the best genetic materials we can obtain." Bonner is ready to abandon sexual reproduction entirely for scientific selection as soon as someone gives him the green light to proceed.

Recombinant DNA research may well be a Pandora's box, bringing with it a great danger to the world's well-being, as well as the possibility of great benefit. Certainly, questions of safety are on the agenda and both the government and citizenry will have to make some important decisions.

War resisters meet, protest Carter amnesty

On the other end of Carter's pardon is army deserter Jack Colhoun, who is not eligible for pardon. "I'm mad as hell," Colhoun told delegates. "I and other deserter's are not criminals. We did not desert the people of America; it was the war planners like Vance and Brown who deserted the American people.... I call Carter's limited unconditional pardon a sham."

By Ed Sowders

Toronto. What do war resisters, some Vietnam veterans, and amnesty supporters think about Carter's amnesty policy? "Unacceptable," cried the 350 delegates attending the International Conference of Veterans and War Resisters in Toronto on Jan. 29 and 30, amidst chants of "on to Washington... On to Washington... On to Washington..."

Turnout was good, considering the freezing temperatures and driving snows that closed many northeastern roads and highways. Sponsored by the National Council for Universal Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA) to offer a unified response to President Carter's limited pardon of draft resisters, the event brought together close to 100 veteran, exile, religious, political and civil liberties organizations.

On Jan. 21, less than 24 hours after his inauguration, Jimmy Carter proclaimed "a full, complete and unconditional pardon" for all persons indicted, awaiting indictment and/or convicted of selective service law violations between Aug. 4, 1964, the date of the Tonkin Gulf "incident," and March 28, 1973, when the last remnants of U.S. military forces left Vietnam.

Excepted from consideration were those cases that involved "force and violence," and where selective service officers and employees themselves broke laws performing their duties (such as selling of draft deferments). The accompanying Executive Order instructs Attorney General Griffin Bell to quash all pending indictments and halt all investigations of draft violators, removing the fear of some amnesty advocates that the government would, at some point, begin prosecuting the undetermined number of men who simply refused to register for the draft, estimated by some to number in the hundreds of thousands.

Deserters and "bad paper" discharges excluded.

Totally excluded from any consideration by the Carter pardon are the 800,000 deserters and veterans with less-than-honorable discharges, as well as civilians arrested and prosecuted for their anti-war activities. Addressing the question of deserters and veterans with "bad paper," White House press secretary Jody Powell said that "their inclination, in fact, their intention, is still to make it a study by the Defense Department."

In Toronto, most greeted this statement with disdain.

Some participants openly called Carter's pardon a slap in the face to deserters and amnesty supporters, while the more moderate felt that his act was a good first step toward a broader amnesty that should include both deserters and civilian anti-war activists.

Disagree as they may on Carter's intentions, the conference delegates were unanimous in their desire to unite around the demand for a complete amnesty, and optimistic about their chances of obtaining public support for those neglected by Carter. There was a sense of urgency as the conference was called to order and speakers took to the podium amid banners reading "Universal Unconditional Amnesty," "Draft resisters demand amnesty for deserters and civilian resisters," "Recognition and reconstruction aid to Vietnam," and "On to Washington, Feb. 1-10."

Resisters—white, educated, middle-class.

Draft resister Joe Jones, who is covered

by the pardon and may now return to his home in Wilkesboro, N.C., said, "I feel like I've just been told that my ticket won the lottery and the big prize is mine. I'm typical of the draft resister: white, educated, middle-class. For every person like me, there are perhaps 10 deserters, perhaps 250 veterans with less-than-honorable discharges. So think of 261 of us up here, and only one of us has been affected by Carter's pardon."

Joe's mother, Mrs. Virginia Jones, wants her son to come home and has been active with the Families of Resisters for Amnesty (FORA). Thanks to her activities and those of the numerous organizations represented in Toronto, Joe Jones is now free to do so.

On the other end of Carter's pardon is army deserter Jack Colhoun, who is not eligible for pardon. "I'm mad as hell," Colhoun told delegates. "I and other deserters are not criminals. We did not desert the people of America; it was the war planners like [Secretary of State] Vance and [Secretary of Defense] Brown who deserted the American people... I call Carter's limited unconditional pardon a sham." Colhoun, an editor of the Exile publication *AMEX/Canada*, host of the conference, has been in exile for seven years in Toronto.

Colhoun's opposition to the pardon was shared by Swedish-based deserter Steve Kinneman: "Vance believes the war was a mistake. We don't believe it [was], but if they do, why must we pay the price?"

Pentagon PR campaign.

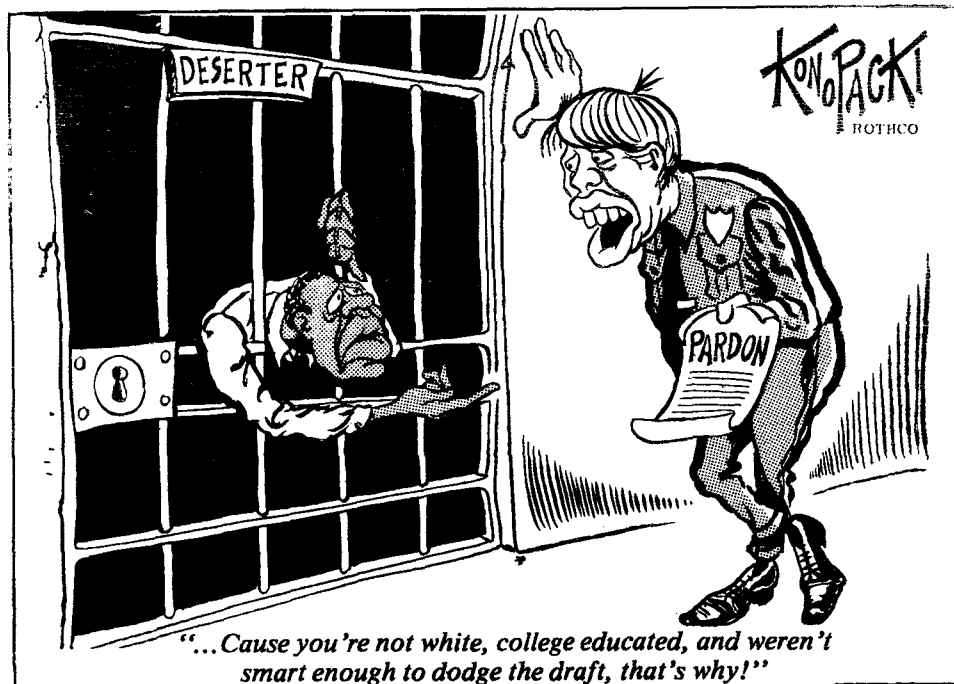
Deserters had always been a major obstacle encountered by pro-amnesty organizations because of the nature of the Pentagon's PR onslaught upon them. During the Vietnam war, over 500,000 men left the military—most of them, according to amnesty groups, as a direct or indirect result of the war and the racism of military service. The Pentagon, on the other hand, claims these men are basically "under-achievers" and criminal types, who left the military for a wide variety of reasons in no way connected to the Vietnam war.

Twenty-five veterans, most of them of Vietnam duty, flew into Toronto as the first day's conference activities drew near a close. They had started as a contingent of over 100 from various veteran's self-help, counseling and college organizations; but their chartered buses failed to move over the snow-laden highways leading to Toronto from New York and New Jersey.

They, too, came in support of fellow veterans with "bad discharges" and military deserters. Not having the opportunity to speak individually, they caucused immediately and came forth with an open letter to President Carter which began:

"We, American veterans from all over the United States, many of us having fought in Vietnam, are outraged that your 'pardon' excludes most of the poor and minorities who need and deserve unconditional amnesty."

The letter went on to describe how veterans with bad paper, who were wounded in Vietnam, were denied medical treatment by VA facilities as a result of their discharge, and went on to say: "...A less-than-honorable discharge is a life sentence to job discrimination and social exile... Your response... has been to turn the matter over to the generals at the Pentagon.... This is like making the prosecutor [both] judge and jury."



Gold star mother.

Still another person who paid heavily for the war was Mrs. Patricia Simon of Boston who lost her only son, David, in Vietnam in 1968 and is now director of the Gold Star Parents for Amnesty. She said, "Richard Nixon... told the world 'America will not turn her back on those who served nor make a mockery of their sacrifice by granting amnesty.' I have come to Toronto to reject this kind of honor.... I know that our sons would be alive today if our government had listened to what the resisters were saying and had stopped the war. I represent the hundreds of gold star parents across the country... who are not comforted by the punishment of those who refused to participate in the war."

Conference delegates voted to continue their fight for universal, unconditional amnesty—one that would extend coverage to include deserters, draft resisters, and civilian anti-war activists not covered by the current pardon.

Not surprising, however, was the fact

that they could not reach a consensus on a resolution to oppose the re-institution of the draft, with voting delegates evenly split. Some argued that the current all-volunteer military created a class of "mercenaries," while others claimed that whether the draft were reinstated or not, the class composition of the military was and will remain primarily poor and working-class, with a disproportionate number of minority members.

Conference delegates passed resolutions calling for reconstruction aid and normalization of relations with Vietnam, and for their entry into the United Nations. They also endorsed the Feb. 1-10 veterans' actions in Washington, which will include a 10-day vigil for veterans rights and the presentation to President Carter of 100,000 petition signatures on the Appeal for Reconciliation.

Ed Sowders is a Vietnam veteran and ex-deserter who writes on military affairs. He is past co-ordinator of the Safe Return amnesty committee in New York City.

ALBUM

Photo by Image Arts/SD



Nash Rodriguez: not satisfied with status quo

Chicano candidate for Steelworkers union secretary generating international interest.

By Sam Kushner

In a Montebello, Calif., restaurant Ignacio Rodriguez was greeted by an old friend, a Chicano activist who does considerable travelling south of the border. "I just read about you while I was in Panama. That's great about your running on the same slate with Sadlowski. You be surprised how much interest this is generating throughout the continent."

"Nash," as he is known to West Coast steelworkers, was flattered by the international interest in his candidacy, but he is becoming accustomed to the strong reaction to his running for secretary of the steelworkers union on the insurgent slate headed by Edward Sadlowski. By mail and phone the messages of support keep coming through, Rodriguez told *In These Times*.

If elected, Rodriguez will more than likely have a major impact on the policies of his own union and perhaps the AFL-CIO on matters relating to Latin America, as well as those affecting Latinos within the U.S. When asked if he saw the need for a major overhaul of AFL-CIO policy in relation to Latin America, Rodriguez said, "No question about it."

"It used to be," he added, "that the AFL-CIO stood for something in the eyes of the workers in this country and in others. It seems that they now parrot the same type of garbage that Wall Street has been doing for such a long time."

"That is the reason we are running this slate," he continued, "because we are not satisfied with the status quo.... We want to change the direction of our union, to make it more positive, to make it responsive to the needs of all workers."

Organized labor's leadership has departed from "the real intent of where it was supposed to be—for the protection of the worker," Rodriguez said in the frank exchange we had about the U.S. labor leadership and its role domestically and in Latin America.

►Third generation mine worker.

Born in Miami, Ariz., in the heart of the copper mining territory, Rodriguez was a third generation worker in the mines. His father helped organize workers for the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers in the Morenci and Clifton areas in Arizona, and his grandmother was threatened with deportation because of her assistance to union organizers.

When he first came to Southern California, Rodriguez got employment as a sewer construction worker because of his experience in the mines and his ability to work beneath the surface of the street.

By 1949 he had gone to work at the Los



Photo by Robert Gumpert

Rodriguez is a third generation union activist.

Angeles American Can plant. He became a union steward there in 1958 and remained one until the day the plant shut down on July 30, 1976. By that time he was also the president of Steelworkers Local 1549. He still recalls with pride his 16 years as a member of the local's grievance committee and his nine years as its chairman.

Rodriguez says that wherever he goes in the course of the election campaign, the "prime question" is safety. "A worker should not have to put his life on the line every time he goes to work."

The Sadlowski slate's position that "safety is not a negotiable issue" has a very special meaning to him. On one occasion at American Can the management tried to eliminate a skilled job on the light ovens that bake printing ink. He thought that created an unsafe situation for the rest of the workers and a major battle ensued during which 17 workers were suspended from their jobs. When it was all over the 17 were reinstated with back pay, the additional worker was reinstated and the union, under Rodriguez's leadership, had won its point.

Company tax writeoffs at the expense of the workers is another personal issue. He recalls American Can plant closings and layoffs in 1972 that resulted in the company getting more than \$90 million in tax write-offs.

Rodriguez, who was laid off after 27 years of service also feels strongly about pensions. "Pensions after 30 years is too

much—that is a complete lifetime of work." Obviously affected by the situation in his own plant he says "after 20 years a worker should be able to retire and get a good pension out of it."

For a time it appeared that Rodriguez might be declared ineligible to run for international office. His candidacy for secretary was announced on Oct. 11, 1976, and his local's charter was revoked three days later by the national officers of the union. At that time he was earning \$195 a month and was handling still-pending

grievances and arbitrations. In order to avoid being in technical non-compliance with the union constitution he went to work at another plant and on Nov. 30, attorneys for the international union conceded in a federal court that Rodriguez was in compliance with the constitution and that he had enough nominations to qualify him for a place on the Feb. 8 ballot.

Sam Kushner is the author of *Long Road to Delano* and is a reporter and commentator on radio station KPFF in Los Angeles.

Steelworker contest enters last week

In their last week of campaigning before the Feb. 8 elections, the candidates for president of the Steelworkers union took to television and then to the streets in a final flurry of handing out and mailing literature to the 1.4 million members of the union.

Neither Ed Sadlowski nor Lloyd McBride revealed much new in their joint appearance on *Meet the Press* Jan. 30. Sadlowski attacked the union leadership for winning inadequate contracts and failing to defend workers' right on the shop floor. He argued for greater union democracy and "a change that is long overdue."

McBride continued to hammer away at his main campaign issue—the sources of money for Sadlowski's campaign. The attack backfired when he accused Sadlowski of taking money from Palmer Singleton, attorney for Amsted Industries, which has a contract with the Steelworkers.

The Palmer Singleton who gave him money, Sadlowski answered, "happens to be the son and a member of Local 5000 of the Steelworkers union, a Great Lakes sailor. Once again I believe it is a distortion of the outside contributions. We have not taken money from bosses or employers."

Although Palmer Singleton III was out on an ore boat, his father confirmed that "I have not and will not contribute to Sadlowski's campaign or McBride's campaign." A small-town lawyer who specializes in representing corporations in labor cases, the senior Singleton was worried that McBride's charge would damage his practice.

"If I were going to use somebody's name on national television, I would see that my staff had checked it out," he said. "To be used like this as a pawn without any regard for my privacy or my son's is a pretty slovenly practice."

Sadlowski's staff disputed McBride's charge that only 5.4 percent of the money

for the insurgent ticket's campaign had come from steelworkers. They refuse to accept McBride's analysis of their list, which only covered direct mail solicitations, a "small part" of the total contributions. "Tens of thousands" of steelworkers contributed money directly and through fund-raising dinners, bingo games and rallies, a Sadlowski spokesman said.

Sadlowski supporters were also attacking McBride in the final days for suggesting elimination of the referendum vote for president of the union. McBride said on *Meet the Press* that the charge was "absolutely not correct," but that he did want a Congressional investigation and possible legislation restricting contributions from people outside the union.

In an interview published in *In These Times* (Jan. 12), however, McBride said, "If people who are not members of the union persist in continuing to interfere and help to control the outcome of the unions that do ratify by referendum, they may force a change in the procedure."

Labor Front

The "Labor Front" in the last issue was compiled by Dan Marshall and will be a regular feature of *In These Times*, focusing on labor news not ordinarily reported by the daily press. We invite our readers to submit interesting labor tidbits: rank and file insurgencies in local unions, instances of racial and sexual discrimination, labor's views of particular events, wildcat strikes, revealing statements by corporate and labor executives, etc. Send suggestions to: *Labor Front*, c/o Dan Marshall, 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60622. Or call, Monday through Friday, 10:00-6:00—312/489-4444.

Home rule up for grabs as N.Y. fiscal crisis mounts

New York. With time running out for the Emergency Financial Control Board—scheduled to expire in 1978, New York City's banks have moved boldly to extend and consolidate their control over the crisis-ridden city.

Top bankers, including David Rockefeller, met secretly with Gov. Hugh Carey (Dem.) last week and proposed to establish an outside overseer which would deprive New York City of "home rule" for up to 20 years. The banks moved on their plan with a Feb. 3 deadline looming for repayment by the city of \$1 billion in short-term notes. The city is, as usual, dependent on the cooperation of the banks to make good on the debts.

The attitude of the financial community was summed up by the *New York Times*: "The city's credit worthiness could not be restored without a mechanism of control that went beyond the normal political system."

The "financial junta"—as it has become known in dissident circles—was not,

however, without its woes. The unholy alliance between the municipal unions and the banks showed signs of strain as union leaders balked at prolonging outside control of the city's fiscal policies. Since early 1975, when New York City first teetered on the brink of bankruptcy, a reign of austerity has brought a sustained policy of layoffs and social service cuts—all in the name of regaining "investor confidence." Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees said, "We're not going to let the banks call the tune after they've done nothing to help the city out." The rebellion was short lived, however, as the next day, Jan. 28, union leaders and bankers were in conference; the banks tentatively softening their harshest demands and the union brass reaffirming their "common interest" with the banking community in assuring a balanced budget for the city.

—Mitchell Torton

Cities adopt residence rules

Protectionist grab in time of economic crisis.

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

Hit by financial squeezes and a rapid leak of middle-income whites to the suburbs, cities around the country have been enacting or stepping up enforcement of rules requiring city employees to live where they work.

The residency rule crackdown was set off by a Supreme Court decision last March upholding the constitutionality of a Philadelphia ordinance that had been challenged by a fireman named Francis McCarthy.

Residency rules, favored by both progressive new city leaders and old-time bosses, have stirred opposition from public employee unions, especially police and fire organizations. "It's another example of second-class citizenship for public employees," Don Turner, a Chicago Teachers Union official says. "There's no other group of employees who can be told where to live. Why should public employees be singled out?"

They are singled out because many city leaders think that requiring all employees to live in the city is an easy way to confront several urban ills at once. But it is a solution that is prickly with difficulties on numerous fronts—civil liberties, race relations, union bargaining rights and relations among different legal units of large metropolitan areas.

► Keeping the money at home.

For cities with shrinking tax revenue, more poor people and sagging business districts, residency rules are economically attractive. A large chunk of the better-paid city workers often live outside the city limits—for example, one-fourth of Chicago's public school teachers, nearly three-fourths of Atlanta's firefighters and police, roughly half of Boston's city employees and 70 percent of all Hartford, Conn., workers, public and private combined.

Each family with \$20,000 annual income and a \$40,000 house would net the city of \$1,000 in taxes a year, a Chicago study concluded, in addition to the multiple effects of their shopping in the city. Despite repeated legal challenges, many cities have had residency requirements on the books for as long as 50 years. Twenty-nine out of 50 cities surveyed by the National League of Cities had some kind of residency rule, including Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Detroit and Milwaukee. Boston, Atlanta, Hartford and other cities, including dozens of suburbs, have passed rules recently. City officials in New York and Washington, D.C., are among many now agitating for a rule.

In the booming sixties, cities often relaxed rules to attract or to keep skilled workers, such as teachers, who were heading for the suburbs. But with jobs scarce now, cities "can make demands on people that they couldn't make before," Chicago personnel director Charles Pounian says. Detroit stepped up its residency enforcement last July when there were widespread layoffs. The city didn't want to lay off residents while nonresidents held jobs.

In several cases, cities have had to unleash supersleuth investigating teams to track down employees breaking the rules, relying on citizen tips, record searches and house calls in the middle of the night to foil such standard dodges as maintaining a city apartment but keeping the family in a suburban home.

Although Mayor Richard Daley told all Chicago cops and firemen last May to move into the city by Aug. 1, "T.J. Fisher" still refuses. The leader of a firefighters group that has spent \$84,000 fighting the rule in court, the pseudonymous "Fisher" shares a city apartment with another fireman and keeps his wife and kids in his "suburban investment."

► City workers on the run.

Fisher moved out of the city for the same reasons as millions of other middle-income whites. Blacks were moving into his neighborhood. He felt "the schools, the streets, the yards, my roof and gutters were all getting bad because of the people in the neighborhood. My home and my wife were targets for low-income or no-income people."

When he looked for a home in other parts of the city, he encountered bank redlining and demands of 50 percent down on a mortgage. "We didn't have that kind of scratch," he says. "A friend suggested looking in the suburbs. I didn't want to do it, but I couldn't believe the difference—\$4,000 to \$6,000 down in the suburbs, \$25,000 down in the city. Without much money, where would you go?"

Patrolman "Fisher," a friend of fireman "Fisher," recently moved back into the city, complaining like many of selling at a loss and facing a housing market inflated in some areas by the influx of city employees. Dual residency had taken its toll. "You had to lead two lives," the patrolman Fisher says. "The pressure on the family was tremendous. Your children had to lie. 'What does your daddy do?' 'He's a ditch-digger.'"

Both Fishers say they would feel better about the rule if all city department employees were covered. "There's a standing joke now," fireman Fisher says. "Where is Mr. Daley buried? Is he living in the city?" Daley was buried in a suburban cemetery.

City administrators claim that employees living in the city are more involved, knowledgeable and diligent in their work. Some fear that suburban residents administering and policing the city could become an "occupying army." Traditionally cities have argued that police and firefighters should be close at hand for emergency calls. Even more important, in many cities police carry their guns and badges even when off duty. Their presence in the city expands the 24-hour police force.

► Dollars and black focus.

Money and race are the heavyweight reasons for residency rules. "The real issue is race," one union official said. "Probably more than that, the economics of it is to keep the middle class in the city. But if the city wants to do that, they should make the city liveable."

Race criss-crosses the residency debate in contradictory ways. At first glance, the rules seem to be designed to stop white flight to the suburbs and provide traditional politicians a larger, more secure white political base.

Many residency requirement advocates turn that argument around. They claim that the rules will lead to hiring more blacks and other central city residents. "Indirectly it is a form of affirmative action," argued Lawrence DiCara, the Boston city councilman who co-authored the city's new ordinance. "It probably limits the number of white people who can be in the pool of employable persons."

However, in Atlanta, black mayor Maynard Jackson defends his city's new residency rule as likely to increase the number of whites in both the city and its government, thus "possibly diluting black political power," according to an aide.

Rules that keep white city employees in the city also keep black city employees out of the suburbs. "Here are the cities in defensive action to keep employees and we're trying to open up the suburbs," Paul Davidoff, director of New York's Suburban Action Institute, says. "Theoretically it's a conflict. We're protecting the constitutional right to travel. It's a pragmatic judgment that [a residency rule] is good for affirmative action, but I feel uncomfortable denying people their right



Photo by Jane Melnick

to travel."

Black organizations seem even more divided. The Afro-American Patrolmen's League of Chicago, which has fought for more minority cops, supports the residency requirement as a way to improve police service, bolster the city economy and make employment "reflect the inhabitants of the city." Howard Saffold, president of the League, says, "It's unconstitutional for me to live in a city, pay my taxes and then not be able to get a job that someone who doesn't even live here gets, paid for with my tax money."

Black opinion is not solid, however. A black bloc on Chicago's school board has been partly responsible for holding up a residency requirement for teachers. One black neighborhood newspaper backed the residency requirement as a boon to the city's economy. Slightly over a year later the same paper condemned the residency rule as "directly racist in the direction of continued political control [by Daley and white politicians] ... to combat the growing black mass in this city."

► Confrontation and desperation.

Residency rule opponents argue that it violates their constitutional rights to travel, due process and equal protection under the laws. Unions have contended that residency requirements are conditions of employment that must be negotiated and not imposed by fiat.

If all municipalities had residency rules, couples working for different cities would be in a bind. Also, the cities could lose some residents. An estimated 5 to 15 percent of suburban employees live in Chicago, for example.

Few opponents now hope for legal relief. In late January a retroactive rule, relatively rare among new regulations, was upheld by a federal judge in rejecting attacks by the Cook County Teachers Union, which represents city college teach-

ers. Resistance has taken a more political turn recently, with unions pressuring city councils and state legislatures to prevent passage of new rules.

Some unions argue that residency requirements are simply the wrong way to solve the problems they address. "Every time it comes up we stomp on it as hard as we can," Don McClure, public affairs director of AFSCME (State, County and Municipal Employees), says. We have people at city council meetings arguing why it's discriminatory. We sympathize with the problems of the city—people fleeing to suburbs, losing tax money. We agree that it would be a good thing [for employees to live in the city], but it would be a good thing if services were improved and the tax structure were reformed."

Weighted down with the burden of saving the city's economy and redressing—in one direction or another—racial imbalances, residency rules are rarely evaluated on the merits of the arguments about service and involvement. They are an angry local rejoinder to national policies that have economically drained central cities and made them less attractive for many people. Despite the Supreme Court ruling, the issue of possible infringement of civil liberties is not dead. As a stopgap, residency rules may slow the decline of the cities slightly, but without long-term, comprehensive solutions they are desperation measures that rely on the unique powers of the city as employer.

Cities are desperate, however. "With the economic situation the way we have it," councilman DiCara of Boston says, "it's time for some protectionism. People in Massachusetts should all drink cranberry juice instead of orange juice and buy locally made shoes. If we have local people getting paid by the city, we have a better chance of keeping the neighborhoods alive."

Consumer group makes bank pay

Bank of America must give \$275,000 in rebates for fraudulent advertising.

By Ken McEldowney

In a landmark case, the Bank of America has agreed to pay out \$275,000 in civil penalties and rebates to 2,000 customers who took out car loans during a highly deceptive radio and print ad campaign last fall.

The campaign, promising "low bank rates" and "Our rates are very competitive," was stopped through the research and picketing of Consumer Action, a Bay Area group with a long history of taking on corporations and winning. Consumer Action's research showed that far from having the lowest rates, as the ads hinted, the world's largest bank actually had the highest auto loan rates in the Bay Area. And the gap was not a small one—there was a difference of 35 percent between Bank of America and the cost of the cheapest loan in the area or nearly \$200 over the life of a typical auto loan.

On Oct. 27 Consumer Action demanded that the ad campaign be dropped and that the local district attorney and the California Attorney General prosecute the bank for false and misleading advertising. Within two weeks the ad campaign was dropped and the Consumer Fraud/White Collar Crime Unit of the San Francisco District Attorney's office had told the Bank of America that their "advertisements appear to be misleading" and in violation of California law.

By the end of November, the Bank of America had lowered its auto bank rates, resulting in savings of more than \$80 for each customer taking out a loan. Nonetheless, their rates were still higher than 14 of 20 local banks surveyed.

In mid-January, San Francisco District Attorney Ray Bonner announced the \$275,000 settlement saying, "We believe that this \$275,000 settlement is the largest ever made in California for false advertising." He expressed hope that the settlement "will encourage all business, large and small, to provide consumers with accurate and meaningful information that will enable them to make intelligent decisions when spending their little dollars. Advertising of the nature we had here harms consumers, competitive banks and all businesses by fueling the cynicism and disillusionment which too many

consumers already have against big business."

As might be expected, the Bank of America played out the classic role of a major corporation being caught with its hand in the cookie jar and feigned innocence. One spokesperson said the bank "didn't intend to mislead any customers with our ads. This is the first time since we started advertising 40 years ago that the validity of our ads has been seriously challenged. We don't believe that any customers were misled by the ad. However, if this were the case in any instance, the rebate department will correct it."

Under the consent agreement, in which the bank did not admit guilt, rebate checks of roughly \$85 have to be mailed to all customers who took out an auto loan between Oct. 12 and Nov. 2 when the disputed ads ran in newspapers and on radio.

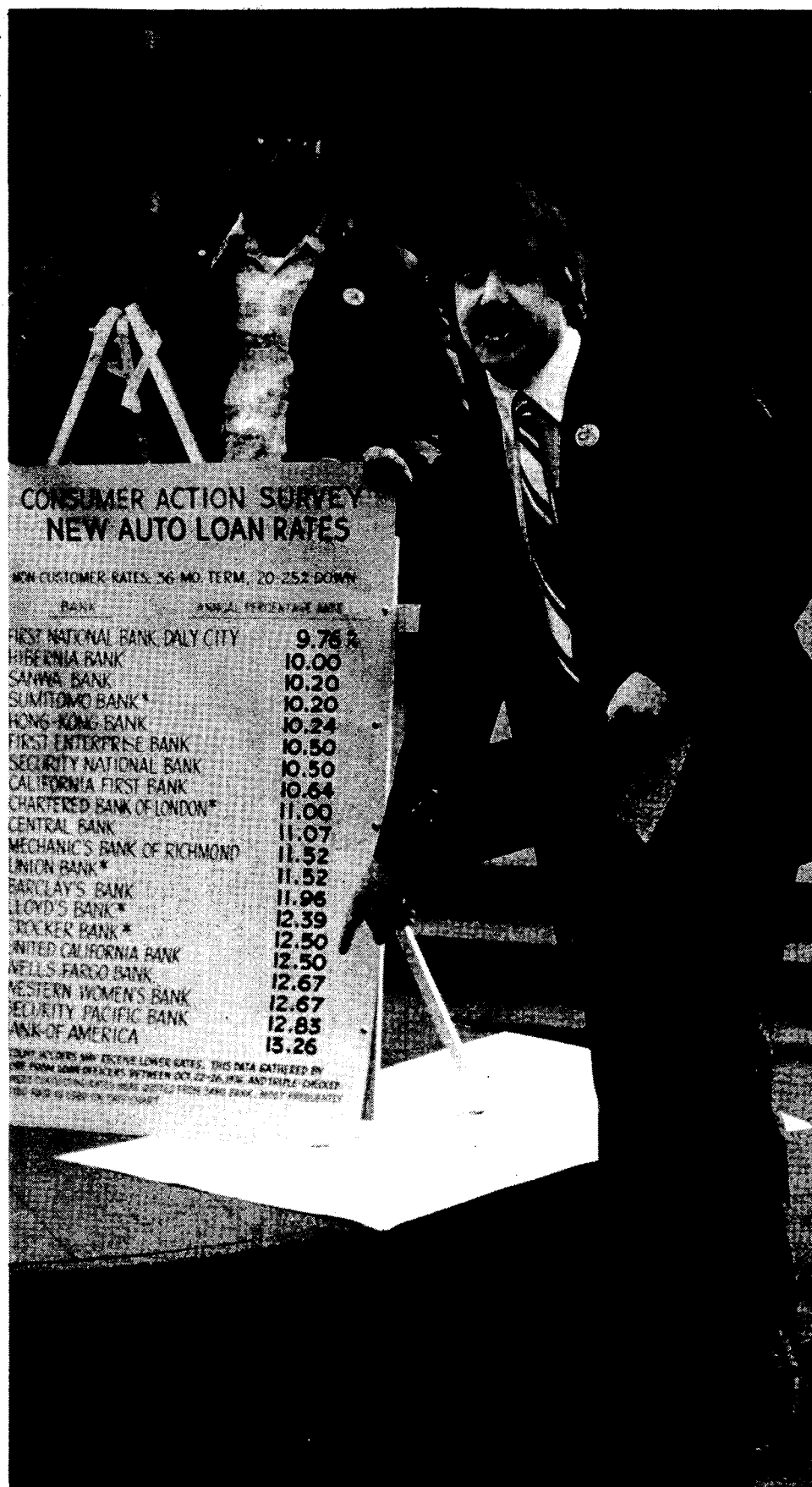
The fact that their ads had not been challenged in the past speaks much more to the sorry state of enforcement of false advertising statutes in California than to the purity of their intentions. Both locally and statewide, law enforcement officials have traditionally waited for private groups to bring in complaints. Newspapers have long cleared the legality of their display and classified ads with the local branch of the Better Business Bureau rather than with either the district attorney or attorney general. Generally, the few protests that were ever raised were aimed at small fly-by-night firms operating out of post office box numbers.

Even with the Bank of America ads, the actions were not initiated by the district attorney but by Consumer Action, a private group.

"This is a victory for the people and an unprecedented warning to any institution engaging in false advertising," J. B. Moore, Consumer Action Banking Project director, said. "While we would have gone after any bank with misleading ads, the fact that the Bank of America is the world's largest bank with twice as many branches in California as any other bank makes it even more of a victory because of their visibility."

Consumer Action has been probing into financial institutions since it was founded. The survey of auto loan rates follows their highly successful publication "Break the

Photo by Steve Kofetz



Consumer Action took their campaign to the people and forced governmental action.

Banks," a shopper's guide to banking services and "It's in Your Interest," which ranks California banks and savings and loans on the basis of the yields, charges and services connected with regular savings accounts.

"It's in Your Interest," published in

November 1976, is available by mail for \$4 from Consumer Action, 26 7th Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

Ken McEldowney is on the staff of the Media Alliance, an organization of free-lance writers in San Francisco.

Teamsters close field offices in California

By Sam Kushner

Los Angeles. A series of bizarre developments have created new confusion about the relationship between the Teamsters union and the United Farm Workers in southern California.

The most recent developments occurred in the Coachella Valley, site of a 1973 Teamster assault on the UFW in the fields. Johnny Macias, chief Teamster organizer in the valley and one of those who led that attack on the UFW, arrived at his Sixth Street office early one Monday morning and found it bare. He called the police and reported that his office had been burglarized.

Coachella police Lt. Jon Clem informed Macias that the police had been informed that Ralph Cotner, head of the Teamsters Agricultural Division, would be in that city over the weekend and that the office furnishings would be removed. Macias had not been notified.

Almost all of the Teamsters' farm labor offices in California have similarly been closed down at the same time that negotiations with the UFW have been continuing. (See *In These Times*, Jan. 5)

The UFW also continues to amass vic-

tories in the fields. Last week the union won its seventh consecutive representation election since the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board reopened its offices throughout the state.

The Teamsters have challenged the UFW in only one of these elections—in Santa Maria where the Teamsters got three votes to the UFW's 31. Apparently, the Teamster challenge in that vote was due to Bart Curto, secretary-treasurer of Teamster local 865 who publicly defied instructions from the Western Conference of Teamsters to withdraw.

The apparent Teamster pull out from trying to organize field workers is drawing opposition from within the ranks. Both Curto and Macias, for instance, have publicly declared that they will fight any jurisdictional agreement between the two unions.

Five officers in Teamster local 946 are challenging any dismembering of farm labor locals in court. A hearing on their request for a preliminary injunction against the international union is due to be heard in early February in Fresno Superior Court. Pete Baclig, secretary of the local, defended the suit, saying: "We are against any jurisdictional agreement with the UFW. We will do everything that is

legally in our power to stop any agreement."

Ironically, the suit also levels charges at Ralph Cotner, who was accused by the UFW in 1973 of being a major "strong arm" for the Teamsters. Now he is accused by Baclig and others with attempting to strong-arm his own membership. The court complaint charges that when he was denied admission to the union's Bakersfield office on Jan. 17, "Cotner smashed down a door ... and threatened plaintiff's officers, employees, agents, representatives and others with actual physical violence unless they complied with his demands." It further charges that Cotner "threatened to return ... with over 100 men unless the plaintiff's officers surrendered to his demand."

The Teamster-UFW negotiations apparently were discussed at a recent meeting of the Teamster's International Executive Board in New Orleans. Curto, who reportedly was in New Orleans, issued a statement later that all talks had broken off.

Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons, who is believed to have masterminded the original farm worker thrust and who now appears disenchanted with it and with the opposition within his own union,

offered a different picture on Jan. 25. He said that he was "very optimistic" over the outcome of the current talks, adding that none of the local officials are authorized to speak for the Teamsters on the question of the negotiations.

Having created a bureaucracy in farm labor in its campaign against the UFW, the Teamsters now face some problems with that bureaucratic structure. Baclig and others have threatened to form an "independent" farm labor union to challenge the UFW if the Teamsters do pull out.

Such threats are not taken very seriously by farm labor observers. Without Teamster money, support and muscle there appears to be little likelihood that any new union would be able to mount a viable campaign.

Significant support for such a development by growers appears to be unlikely in view of their expressed fear of being "whipsawed" by competing labor organizations and the unlikely possibility of any such union gaining support among farm workers.

Sam Kushner is the author of *Long Road to Delano* and a commentator on radio station KPFA in Los Angeles.

IN THE WORLD

Eastern European dissenters revive

By Louis Menashe

In Prague, Warsaw and East Berlin the dissident movement is reviving. Over 400 Czech intellectuals have pierced the silence of the post-1968 pall with their open human rights petition, Charter '77.

Eighty-four East German luminaries, including, as in Czechoslovakia, some of the country's literary and theatrical luminaries, protested the involuntary exile of Wolf Biermann, the G.D.R.'s Bob Dylan.

And Polish intellectuals have organized a "Support Committee" for workers jailed in the aftermath of last June's riots against the Gierk regime's economic policies. Last week, the Poles also declared their solidarity with the signers of Charter '77.

Even in Moscow, where a once-flourishing movement seemed safely throttled after a decade-long campaign of government harassment and repression, signs point to a revival.

Because of the pressure on the Soviet bloc from the Helsinki agreement and from the Western European Communist parties, this wave of protest seems destined to grow rather than recede. And in Eastern Europe, it seems to be distinguished by its unequivocal commitment to socialism, a socialism detached from the straitjacket of the Soviet model.

► "We do not like that word."

In an "Open Letter to Comrade Gierk" last spring, Edward Lipinski, the dean of Polish economists, argued that "the basis of socialism is freedom, decentralization, joint responsibility of the citizens in decision-making in social, political, and economic affairs. That is why we should demand that democracy replace the Soviet system which jeopardizes the development process of the nation's strength."

In Czechoslovakia, some of the protesting intellectuals even dislike being dubbed dissidents, according to Pavel Kohout, the playwright recently manhandled and detained by Czech security police. "We do not like that word," he told *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne. "We are not struggling against the regime. We are merely trying to get it to observe existing Czechoslovak laws that guarantee human rights in this country."

East German protesters include established supporters of German socialism, many with old anti-fascist credentials. Biermann himself, unlike some analogous figures in the USSR—underground balladeers disenchanted with socialism and cynical about the Soviet system—remains a committed socialist who would like to see Stalinist features stripped away in the G.D.R.

Biermann has perceived what he calls "the dialectic of a historic process" at work in East Germany. "The Stalinist faction in the G.D.R.," he said recently, "both builds socialism and obstructs it—both at the same time. It inspires socialist hopes it does not fulfill."

This is an old paradox in the Soviet bloc where official practice daily belies socialist



rhetoric. Now the paradox is aggravated by several new elements affecting and in part responsible for generating recent protests in the bloc.

► Helsinki, Eurocommunism.

The socialist countries cannot sign the Helsinki accords of 1975 and simultaneously expect that their citizens won't take the human rights provisions seriously. Sure enough, last May nine Soviet dissidents formed "the public group to promote the fulfillment of the Helsinki accords in the USSR." Similarly, the G.D.R. cannot benefit from Bonn's "Ostpolitik" which calls for warmer relations between the two Germanies and simultaneously expect that East Germans won't clamor for eased travel westward.

Another element is the bold and attractive postures of the Western European communist parties with their novel emphasis on political pluralism, civil liberty, and parliamentary democracy. Moscow cannot reaffirm its recognition of the autonomy of fraternal parties and at the same time expect that those parties will refrain from criticizing the discredited politics of repression in the Soviet bloc.

Last month, in a gesture of support to the Soviet dissenters, representatives of the Italian Communist party visited Soviet dissident Roy Medvedev and presented him with an Italian edition of his study, "Was the October Revolution Inevitable?"

Soviet and French communists were the first to publicize Charter '77 and to lend the Czechs their support.

The socialist regimes also cannot seal off their publics from the immense political appeal of Eurocommunism without making a mockery of traditional ideology and relationships. As a result, the message of Eurocommunism has been getting through.

In his open letter, Lipinski bemoans the "total calcification" of socialist thought in Poland and the Soviet Union and hails developments in the west, where "communism in Italy, France, Spain and other countries has undergone profound changes.... These changes and ideological transformations have a great historic significance. They constitute an important step on the road to authentic socialism."

► The road through Moscow.

For Lipinski, as for other dissidents throughout Eastern Europe, the quest for "authentic socialism" is fired by nationalist strivings to shake loose from Soviet hegemony. Polish dissidents as Poles feel queasy enough about the Soviet presence. But Polish dissidents as socialists also feel that the Soviet presence is an impediment to authentic socialist development.

The "road to authentic socialism" in Eastern Europe leads, by the whole force of historical circumstances, through Mos-

Carter gets into the act

In two unprecedented announcements regarding dissidence in the Soviet bloc, the State Department asserted the Czech government had violated the Helsinki agreements on human rights and warned Moscow that any attempt to intimidate Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov would "conflict with accepted international standards of human rights."

Sakharov had been given an official warning by the Soviet government for a statement he had made. Sakharov had expressed fears that an explosion on the Moscow subway was a police provocation against Soviet dissenters.

Washington's stand immediately drew a rebuke from the Soviet government's press agency Tass and from Soviet ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin. Over-eager State Department officials apparently failed to clear the Sakharov statement with new department Secretary Cyrus R. Vance, who was unprepared for Dobrynin's telephone protest.

Tass suggested that Western critics turn to problems of unemployment and racism in their own countries, "where card indexes on millions of dissenters are being compiled."

Coincidentally, the *New York Times* published the text of a letter from Sakharov to President Carter, dated Jan. 21, calling on him to speak out on behalf of dissidents throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR. Sakharov, like many Soviet dissenters, still sees Washington—somewhat over sanguinely—as a protector of freedom willing and able to wrest liberalizing political concessions from the USSR.

cow. For reasons of regional, European, and global politics as well as for considerations of internal stability (the fear that the experiments of, say, a Prague Spring could contaminate the Soviet public), Moscow has been reluctant to allow its Eastern European allies to go their own way.

This reluctance now clashes with some of the powerful centrifugal thrusts of detente. Can Moscow with one hand encourage scientific and cultural contact with the west and with the other bottle up ideological ferment? Can the Polish regime, whose commerce with the capitalist countries amounts to over one-half of its foreign trade, afford to ignore public opinion in the west regarding internal Polish policies? Can the bloc as a whole, owing the capitalist countries \$40 billion in credits, afford to bypass that opinion?

These questions pose a serious dilemma to Eastern European and especially Soviet leaders: how to maintain orthodoxy—political, cultural-ideological, economic—without endangering the whole architecture of detente, and without resorting to the full ferocity of the Stalin era.

Korea

Continued from Page 3.

the State Department and the U.S. Embassy refused to deny the story, and then when rumors began circulating in Seoul that the "bug" may have been an "agent in place."

The specter of high treason inside the Blue House itself led to pervasive distrust

of everyone.

The scandal has since been defused by South Korean Ambassador Dr. Hahn Pyong Choon's report of a private assurance from the State Department that no bugging took place.

► Carter election fuels fears.

Adding to Park's fears has been the election of Jimmy Carter, who promised throughout the campaign that he would gradually withdraw both the 42,000 U.S. troops and the hundreds of tactical nuclear weapons in South Korea.

The prospect of less than total U.S. military support for the Park regime, plus

Carter's outspoken defense of human rights, led Park characteristically to try to wish away Carter's victory in the final weeks before the election.

Even after the results came in, Park and his government persisted in blindly denying cracks in U.S.-South Korean relations.

Park lowered the blinders somewhat in a New Year's announcement that he would not oppose U.S. withdrawals if North Korea would agree to a non-aggression pact. That is considered unlikely in view of North Korea's confidence that U.S. troops will be withdrawn anyway.

Some observers here say the very un-

predictability of the political situation increases the chances that Park will engage in some rash act, military or otherwise, to overcompensate for the weaknesses exposed by the scandals.

So far, Park has taken only stopgap measures in an attempt to regain control of the situation. He reshuffled his cabinet, installed a new KCIA chief and increased patrols on Korean college campuses. To mollify the U.S. Congress, he permitted slight reductions in the long prison sentences of 18 well-known dissident Christians who had signed a "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation" last March.

Photo by UPI



Part III

Socialist Francois Mitterrand, Communist Georges Marchais.

Communists adapt to new conditions

By Bernard H. Moss

In 1972 the French Socialist and Communist parties agreed to a "common program" for achieving socialism. Since then, the united left has steadily increased its vote and its active membership. In the 1978 assembly elections, a left victory is now deemed likely. In a series of four articles, of which this is the third, Bernard Moss explores the nature of the coalition between Socialists and Communists and the chances for the "peaceful transition to socialism" that they seek.

If socialism is on the French political agenda, it is due mostly to the efforts of French Communists. While Francois Mitterrand and other far-sighted Socialist politicians who fought to overcome anti-Communist prejudices made important contributions, the Communists waged the hard, relentless, and unheralded struggle to weld the alliance.

The determination of the Communists to breach all obstacles was highlighted in two dramatic democratic reversals in recent years, the 1968 condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and last year's abandonment of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How did the party of Maurice Thorez, one of Stalin's most loyal followers, a party that modeled itself on the Soviet's down to the last purge, come to such a pass without altering its organization of style of work? The answer, which is long and complicated, tells us as much about the steadfastness of the party as about its adaptability to new conditions.

► Socialist-Communist alliance in '30s.

If the idea of a multi-party socialist system is new, that of a Socialist-Communist alliance is not. Ever since the sectarian

A New French Revolution? A Four-Part Series

"third period" from 1928 to 1934, building a united front with the Socialists has been the main axis of Communist strategy. Rooted in the republican tradition of defense against authoritarian regimes, the French party led the Comintern, the Communist International, into a popular front alliance with socialists and radical democrats.

While originally designed for the defense of political democracy and obtaining immediate relief for working people, the popular front of working and middle classes came to be viewed by some as an anti-monopoly alliance that could be maintained all the way to socialism. In his famous 1946 interview with the *London Times*, Thorez suggested that such an alliance would allow for a democratic passage to socialism.

Because of the Cold War this suggestion was not pursued. Ousted from the government by a Socialist minister, acting under American pressure, and ostracized from the French political community, the Communists held on to their working class base and secretly dreamed of their return to the political mainstream.

► De Gaulle creates unity.

The advent of Charles De Gaulle to power in 1958—while depriving the Communists of one-fifth of their electorate—set the political conditions for their return. By establishing a regime of personal power supported by a broad conservative party and monopoly interests, De Gaulle threw both Socialists and Communists together in angry opposition. The con-

clusion of the Algerian war in 1962 and De Gaulle's declaration of independence from the United States smoothed the way to a reconciliation by removing France from the arena of the Cold War.

In the first legislative elections after the Algerian war, Guy Mollet, the Marxist Socialist who had ordered the invasion of Suez, proposed a simple electoral alliance in order to defeat Gaullist candidates. Socialists viewed this alliance as an electoral expedient, but the Communists grasped the outstretched hand and began to press for a strategic alliance based on a common governmental program. Before discussions on such a program could begin, however, certain fundamental issues of socialist democracy had to be resolved.

Fortunately, this opening in French politics coincided with a similar opening in the world Communist movement—a new Soviet reconciliation with Tito and the departure of the Chinese, the last hard-line defenders of Stalinist orthodoxy. Already Khrushchev's speeches in 1956 and 1957 had raised the prospect of a peaceful transition to socialism in mature capitalist societies. At their congress in 1964 the French renounced their belief in the existence of a single party as the necessary condition for the construction of socialism.

Prodded by the Socialists, they began to do some hard thinking about the meaning of a democratic socialism for France. Cautiously, too, they began to criticize the treatment of dissident writers in the Soviet Union.

Then in August 1968, even before the shock of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia had passed, the party, having decided to sacrifice its traditional loyalty upon the altar of French left unity, condemned the action. The Socialists and a new generation of Communists brought up in an air of freedom would demand no less.

► The crisis of "state monopoly capitalism."

While these political opportunities were appearing, party economists were finding support for the democratic approach in what they called the crisis of state monopoly capitalism. Characterized by monopolistic firms and extensive government regulation, the French economy was undergoing a crisis caused by the over-accumulation and over-centralization of capital.

Through re-investment in plant and equipment, monopolistic firms were driving out smaller enterprises and reducing the proportion of workers needed for production. In order to arrest a declining rate of profit, they increasingly resorted to governmental subsidies, tax credits and inflated prices. Consumers, taxpayers and workers were paying the price for the growth of monopoly capital.

Under these conditions the goal of a socialist government would not be to further the concentration and centralization of capital, as was necessary for Soviet development, but to release the economy from the straitjacket of monopoly accumulation and allow it to supply the domestic market with public and consumer needs. The necessary de-centralization of the economy would also permit greater autonomy for individual firms and a system of workers' self-management.

Inspired by experiments in Yugoslavia and liberal reforms in the Soviet Union, the French began to see flexible planning,

plant autonomy and worker self-management as indispensable conditions for a mature socialism. Though they preferred the term "democratic management" to self-management, which might imply complete independence for each firm, the Communists were already theorizing a dual system of national planning and workers' self-management before the 1968 strike popularized the slogan of "autogestion."

► Communists in May-June '68.

In retrospect, the Communist pursuit of democratic socialism explains their "treason" in 1968, the stolidly anti-revolutionary position they took during the massive student rebellion and general strike of that year. For the Communists, the upheaval was premature because in the absence of a solid agreement with the Socialists the only left alternative to the Gaullist regime was a vanguardist insurrection doomed to defeat.

The Communists were caught in a vise between the necessity to remain at the head of the working class movement and the desire to reassure Socialists and moderates of their adherence to democratic methods. They could hardly favor a self-appointed student vanguard of anarchists and Trotskyists bent upon destroying the "Stalinist scum."

But for their own political purposes they decided to take up the student cause against Gaullist repression and to push the general strike as far as it would go short of insurrection. Contrary to the impression conveyed at the time, it is now generally acknowledged that there would have been no general strike without the participation of the Communists, who wanted to use the breach in the system to strengthen the working class movement and possibly form a government of democratic unity with the Socialists. It was the latter who, fearful of playing the Kerensky role in a Communist general strike, torpedoed the only Left Alternative.

The strategic reasons for the party's conservatism became clear in December 1968 when the central committee issued the Manifesto of Champigny that set the theoretical guidelines for the democratic road to socialism. The party formally abandoned the insurrectionary model of a vanguardist revolution to the anarchist, Maoist and Trotskyist "groupuscules," who were enjoying a brief vogue among students and intellectuals. Denounced for treason in over 200 books written on the events, the Communists not only survived but began to win over many of the new activists of 1968, who found them to be a more serious and responsible revolutionary party.

► Socialist party formed.

The real losers of 1968 were the Socialists whose complete loss of influence among students and workers was revealed in the events. Underscoring their decline, their presidential candidate, right-wing Socialist Gaston Deferre, garnered only five percent of the vote in 1969. At the party congress of that year the SFIO voted to dissolve and merge itself with various new left groups and republican clubs to form an entirely new Socialist party of France.

Many of these new leftists, especially a militant Parisian group called CERES, were fixed upon a Communist alliance and program of workers' self-management. In contrast to the former members of the SFIO, they did not insist that the alliance be conditional upon the settlement of all outstanding ideological issues.

Once all hopes of forming a "third force" coalition with centrists and reformists faded, the party agreed to pursue negotiations with the Communists. They wanted, however, one more democratic guarantee—alternating power.

A New French Revolution?

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However much they try, the Communists will never succeed in convincing people that they are the more democratic party or the Socialists that they are the more revolutionary. Both parties, representing different sectors of the working class, will be necessary for the passage to socialism.

Would the Communists agree to surrender power if a left government were defeated at the polls? Hitherto, the Communists had always insisted that the revolutionary process was irreversible.

When negotiations were resumed in preparation for the legislative elections of 1963, the Communists conceded this point. The last major obstacle to unity was removed.

► Socialists outdistance Communists.

In view of the diminishing pretige of

Gaullism since the general's demise and the onset of world economic problems, the conclusion of the Common Program was bound to generate a widening current of opposition. This current carried Mitterand to within one percentage point of becoming president in 1974 and may bring the left to power in 1978.

Though both partners have gained advantage from the accord, they have done so unequally. The Communists, who traditionally expect to draw greater advantages from a united front, suddenly found

French CP protests spark soviet release of Bukovsky

In the recent release of Luis Corvalan, Chilean Communist party head, by the Chilean junta in exchange for Soviet freeing of dissenter Vladimir Bukovsky, the role of the French Communist party went unnoticed. Shortly before the exchange, the French Communist party brought unusual pressure on the USSR for its continued incarceration of Bukovsky.

Last Oct. 21 several thousand Parisians overflowed a large hall to protest the imprisonment of six intellectuals, three by Latin American dictatorships, one by Czechoslovakia and two by the Soviet Union. The meeting was sponsored by the International Committee of Mathematicians, a group that had successfully campaigned for the release of Soviet mathematician and dissenter Leonid Plyushch.

The French Communist party sent a delegation of three to participate in the protest, including Central Committee member Pierre Juquin who delivered an address on the party's behalf.

"We demand the freedom of Vladimir Bukovsky and Semyon Gluzman (USSR), Jiri Miller (Czechoslovakia), Jose Luis Massera (Uruguay), Victor Lopez Arias (Bolivia), Edgardo Enrique Espinosa (Chile)," Juquin declared. "Among these people some are citizens of socialist countries.... The communist goal is to liberate humanity and for this we urge Frenchmen to struggle. How can we permit this ideal to be stained with unjust acts? Thus we cannot agree that citizens of the Soviet Union or of Czechoslovakia should be persecuted or thrown in prison for expressing their opinions."

Juquin went on to say that the French communists would never give their assent to the use of methods that "do violence to the rights of the individual," whether in communist or non-communist countries.

He emphasized that "of course" the Soviet Union could not be put on the same level as fascist Chile or Uruguay, nations with regimes built on repression and terror. But while always adhering to its policy of international solidarity, which em-

braces the USSR, the French CP intended to continue to criticize "negative phenomena" in the Soviet Union "in the interests of socialism itself."

No French citizen, in particular no French worker, would ever consent to a socialism under which critics of the regimes are punished, Juquin went on to say. "This is the reality in France and it must be taken into account if one really wants to establish socialism and not be content merely to talk about it."

Following this address, Tass took the French CP to task for participating in what it described as an anti-Soviet meeting. Marchais replied to the critique by observing that French CP policy was made not by Tass but by the party congress. In line with that policy, Marchais announced, 6 million copies of Juquin's speech would be distributed.

It may be rather more than coincidental that Bukovsky's release in the Soviet-Chilean prisoner exchange came shortly after the French party's public criticism. Earlier, the Soviet government had abruptly permitted Solzhenitzyn to leave the country following a joint, private warning by the Italian, French, British and Swiss parties suggesting that if the Russians arrested him, they would refuse to attend the all-European communist conference for which Moscow was then pressing. The Russians may thus be more sensitive to pressures from other communist parties, particularly the influential ones, than they are from non-communist governments.

Following the Bukovsky-Corvalan trade, the French party's political bureau issued a statement again criticizing the USSR for possessing political prisoners, with the exchange clearly implied. At a news conference early in January, Marchais hinted at further Soviet pressure; he declared that such pressures would not deter the French communists "one iota" from their condemnation of political repression in the USSR.

—Max Gordon

themselves outdistanced by the Socialist party whose popular votes rose from 18 to 26 percent in the last cantonal elections.

More than any deep-seated ideological or programmatic rift, this reversal of positions has put strains on the alliance. Alarmed by Socialist gains in off-year elections and their vow to cut into the Communist vote, the Communists began to warn of the reformist tendencies of the Socialists, who were already demanding renegotiation of the terms of the program, and vaunted the greater efficiency and reliability of their own centralist organization.

The danger for them was that the Socialists would become so strong that they could afford to break away and form a majority coalition with middle-of-the-road liberals, a constant temptation for the old party notables. They were reminding the Socialists that having given them new vitality through the Common Program they could also take it away.

► Parties grow in separate directions.

Though the Socialists have continued to grow, it has not been at Communist expense. Less forbidding to the average liberal than the Communists, the Socialists have been able to win many liberal and Catholic voters over to the left.

They have made inroads in formerly conservative Catholic areas like Brittany. They have recruited professional and white-collar workers to socialism. Their membership, which has tripled since 1969, is still solidly white collar—an estimated 80 percent—but it is no longer the professional middle class of doctors, lawyers and teachers, but increasingly one of low-paid clerical and service workers.

They have attempted to challenge the Communists at the industrial workplace, but their 247 plant sections are still no match for the Communists' 8,000. The Communists have lost ground in rural areas, where much of the poorer population has migrated to the cities, but they have more than made up the losses in industrial centers; they are more than ever the party of the industrial working class. Despite efforts of both parties to broaden their base of support, they appear to be growing in separate directions as the parties of blue and white collar workers respectively.

Both parties face the problem of self-identity. The Communists must constantly give reassurance of their concern for democracy without losing their trademark as an organization of a new type, a centralist organization of industrial workers. The Socialist must prove their commitment to socialism without losing their identity as a multi-tendency democratic organization.

However much they try, the Communists will never succeed in convincing that they are the more democratic party or the Socialists that they are the more revolutionary. Both parties, representing different sectors of the working class, will be necessary for the passage to socialism.

So far they have been able to maintain the balance between socialism and democracy with little strain. The members of both parties are now mostly newcomers to socialism since 1968, who never had the experience of Stalinism or the Cold War. The new Communists are just as determined to preserve fundamental liberties as the new Socialists are to combat U.S. imperialism. That the united left will continue to grow seems fairly certain; that it will win in 1978 highly probable. Whether it will be able to stand the test of power and of an actual transition to socialism is another matter.

—To be continued.

Bernard H. Moss lives in Paris and is writing a book on the French left. He is the author of *The Origins of the French Labor Movement*.

Lincoln & the Second American Revolution

Prepared by the DeKalb Socialist Historians Group: William Burr, Virginia Diferding, Keith Haynes, James Livingston, Larry Lynn, William Nicklas, Steven Rosswurm, Richard Schneirov, M.J. Sklar, Paul Wohlman.

It had been a bloody victory. As the leader of the party of revolution, he understood the implications of that fact in political as well as social terms. He knew that the long years of civil war had taken the lives of many of the staunchest supporters of the party's program.

These were the same people who had marched in the streets in support of that program and who had joined the party's political organizations and exhorted its constituencies over the previous ten years. They had been in the vanguard of the struggle to abolish claims on the nation's resources made by those whom they defined as parasitic "aristocrats" and "capitalists"—and they had finally taken up arms forcibly to transfer those claims to their own social class. In so doing, they forced the greatest expropriation of property the world had ever seen. They were gone now, hundreds of thousands of them, and the party would never be the same. And neither would the larger society.

The victory had brought a new nation-state into being, one capable of rapid modernization and industrialization. In only 30 years, the advanced capitalist nations of Western Europe would be looking fearfully over their shoulders at the industrial power of this once predominantly agricultural country.

In those same decades, many former partisans came to believe the party had betrayed the principles and people that had led it to victory. Never totally silenced, they nevertheless became small voices in a political universe much different from the one they had hoped to establish.

The leader of the party of revolution would not live to see the new political universe. He died soon after the end of the Civil War—killed by an assassin's bullet in April, 1865.

Abraham Lincoln and the broad coalition that made up the Republican party were revolutionary because they overthrew a fully constitutional property system—the slave system—and because they used every means at their command, from legal electoral politics to extra-legal coercion and armed struggle, in effecting their purpose.

Acting as the agent of its diverse constituencies, the Republican party constructed a unitary nation-state that guaranteed capitalist property relations and abolished slave property, without a penny's compensation. The Republican party established the second American Republic upon the ashes of the first. Codified in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, the Second Republic presided over a rapid industrialization that bequeathed to the 20th century the modern corporate colossus in which we live.

Lincoln and the Republican movement understood freedom to mean individual self-determination through control over the means of production. Liberty, the individual citizen's moral autonomy and political independence, was a function of the private ownership of productive property. And equality was the state in which all citizens exercised such autonomy and independence. This belief in equal liberty was the essence of revolutionary capitalist democratic ideology.

By 1850, Abraham Lincoln was one of many Northerners who was convinced that only the continual expansion of the free labor system could guarantee liberty and equality for a growing population. As a member of the Whig party, he shared the beliefs of small enterprises, farmers, professionals and intellectuals who understood their liberty to require an expanding national market, protected and unified by a strong nation-state. As a railroad lawyer, Lincoln understood the farmers' desire for a continental transport system to market their crops and extend their access to western lands. He recognized that free land in the territories facilitated by a homestead act would appeal to urban and farm laborers who sought to become independent proprietors.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 marked a critical turning point in both



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Left top to bottom: Trust us: Thurlow Weed, the political boss, implores the President. And, foremost of all, "Trust my friend Seward." From Vanity Fair, March 2, 1861; In the summer of 1864

the U.S. War Department made a strenuous effort to induce veterans whose terms were expiring to re-enlist; the Lead Mine Regiment, from Grant's hometown of Galena, wanted men "to rid the land

of rebels." Right: The Republican "Wide Awakes" paraded in great procession through the streets of New York, Harper's Weekly, Oct. 13, 1860.

the history of the first Republic and in Lincoln's political career. At the insistence of Southern senators and their Northern allies, led by Illinois Democratic senator Stephen A. Douglas, the act rescinded the Missouri Compromise which confined slavery to the territories in the area south of latitude 36°30", thereby opening all U.S. territories to slavery. Thousands of northern citizens saw the act as an unwarranted concession to the slaveholders. It meant that slavery could hinder the expansion of free labor and markets in the territories, and thereby undermine the balanced growth and social stability of the Northern states.

In October 1854, Lincoln expressed these fears, but also asserted that slavery was not simply a political-economic, but also a moral question. "If the negro is a man," he said, "why then my ancient faith teaches me that 'all men are created equal'; and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another."

Lincoln was committed, as revolutionaries in the modern world generally are, to the principle that humanity in general, and in the American Union in particular, had to struggle constantly toward the realization of equality. His text for that theme was always the Declaration of Independence, which he defined as the timeless expression of the Union's "first principles." But he believed that a political leader could not disregard a "universal feeling" among those whose votes he sought. He made concessions to the racial fears and hatreds of this constituency. During the 1850s, he always denied that he favored *complete* social and political equality for blacks. At the same time, he always argued to his *white* constituents that race was not the real issue, but that their interests against the slave powers was.

By insisting on the immorality of slavery, Lincoln put the question beyond the conventional politics of compromise, beyond "pragmatic" acquiescence and adjustment to the existing order. This stance ran athwart the older politics of Webster and Clay who had tried to sustain the first Republic's equal sanction of two property systems within one constitutional fabric. Lincoln's position, like that of other Republicans, made the reality of *contending* property systems the central issue of his time. In doing so, he helped explode the broad consensus within which a stable two-party system had operated in the past.

In the 1850s, Lincoln conceded the existence of slavery where it was already lawful. But this was no concession to the slave system. The slave-holders believed that unless their system was allowed continually to expand into new territory, it could not hope to survive. To oppose its extension was to plan slavery's extinction. As Carl Schulz explained to northern audiences, the way to end slavery was to "pent it up." The question of slavery's extension became the litmus paper test of which side one was on in the contest between property systems.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act was the slave-holders' first great victory in the 1850s. It made Lincoln a Republican and inaugurated civil war in Kansas, where John Brown fought his first battles. The Dred Scott decision of 1857 was their second great victory. The Supreme



Lincoln used every means at his disposal, including unconstitutional measures, to consolidate Republican power and to win the war. His premise was that the slaveholders "now have the Constitution, under which we have lived for over 70 years, and acts of Congress of their own framing." The Republicans came to power under that Constitution. Now was the time to transform the old constitutional system and to adapt it to the needs of a free labor society. A nation-state serving the political and economic needs of a rapidly developing industrial capitalist society was worth saving, but it first had to be created.

Accordingly, Lincoln initiated an extra-Constitutional strategy even before the new Congress convened in 1861. In direct violation of constitutionally guaranteed rights, Lincoln directed the military to arrest and detain without due process individuals in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland deemed "dangerous to the public safety." He ignored the Supreme Court's decree that his suspension of habeas corpus was illegal.

Lincoln's revolutionary dictatorship also extended into the electoral arena. During a number of critical congressional and gubernatorial elections, Lincoln relied upon the Union Army to march across state lines, commandeer the polls and ballot boxes, often to vote, in order to overwhelm Democratic opposition. For example, during a crucial Ohio election in 1863, Union troops detained thousands of Democratic voters, arrested their popular candidate for governor and illegally cast ballots themselves to guarantee the election of a Republican. Similar army activity went on during the presidential election of 1864. Often compared by radical Republicans with Cromwell's "New Model Army" of the 17th century English Revolution, Union Army units served as a political, as well as a military arm of the Republican movement. It was an army, as radical Republicans liked to say, whose bayonets could be trusted to think.

The Emancipation Proclamation is one of the most misunderstood acts of Lincoln's presidency. Many have disparaged it as a half-hearted, even irrelevant measure. Actually it was the most dramatic and transforming of Lincoln's extra-constitutional acts. By abolishing slavery in

the Confederacy and authorizing the enrollment of black troops into the Union Army, Lincoln cut at the heart of the social power of the Southern ruling class. As an Executive war action, Lincoln did extra-constitutionally what Congress could not do, namely expropriate property on a massive scale without compensation and without recourse to due process. The 13th and 14th Amendments later codified Court ruled that Congress could not constitutionally exclude slavery from the territories—thus making the new Republican party's "no-extension" platform on slavery unconstitutional.

Lincoln responded to the Dred Scott decision by renewing his appeal to the Declaration of Independence as a body of principles more fundamental than the Constitution. He vehemently opposed the new interpretation of the Declaration that excluded blacks from its provisions and promises. He denounced the Court's ruling as a "debauching of public opinion," a betrayal of the traditions and commitments of the American people. He argued that the crisis of the republic could be seen in the fact that an ideological debate had begun over the meaning of the words "all men are created equal."

Lincoln early understood the implications of his position. In 1855 he foresaw that there was "no peaceful extinction of slavery in prospect for us.... The Autocrat of all the Russians will resign his crown, and proclaim his subjects free republicans, sooner than will our American masters voluntarily give up their slaves."

The irrepressible conflict between slave and free labor was for Lincoln representative of the more basic, historical conflict between two principles of social life. "The one is the common right of humanity and the other is the divine right of kings.... No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people,.... or from a race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle." Lincoln viewed the impending struggle as an episode in the eternal struggle between rulers and ruled, and—in terms of American experience—the culmination of the first American Revolution, a reaffirmation of and deepened commitment to the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

FURTHER READING

- Paul Angle, ed., *Created Equal? The Lincoln-Douglas Debates*.
- William Barney, *Flawed Victory*.
- Dudley Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*.
- Richard N. Current, ed., *The Political Thought of Abraham Lincoln*.
- W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*.
- Don. E. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s*.
- Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free men*.
- William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction*.
- Karl Marx on the American Civil War, ed. Saul K. Padover.
- David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*.

When Lincoln in 1860 ran for president on the platform of no extension of slavery, he made the central issue of the election the reconstruction of the Union under the rhetorical guise of preserving it.

The election forced voters to choose between two radically different social systems. They divided along those lines. Lincoln and the Republicans proposed to pent up slavery within the South with a view to its extinction, as he put it in his Cooper Union address. And they proposed to nationalize the capitalist system by means of their program of protective tariffs, free homesteads, a continental transport system, and a national bank and currency system.

Lincoln won a majority of the electoral vote in the election with only 40 percent of the popular vote. But when "radicals" like Seward wanted to compromise, Lincoln firmly stood by the principle of "non-extension." "entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery," Lincoln warned his Republican colleagues after the election when many of them were wavering. "The instant you do, they have us under again; all our labor is lost and sooner or later must be done over again. Have none of it, the tug has to come, and better now than later." He meant, of course, the tug of war. Better now, because he was Commander-in-Chief and controlled the armed forces, and because the Republican party was a minority party and might not win another national election in peace time.

Continued on Page 14.

"Effective" antipoverty group resists cutoff

By Steve Turner

Another Nixon/Ford attempt to restrict progressive community organizing may be about to blow up in the opposite direction.

The locale involved is eastern Massachusetts, but the effects could be national. The case is the embattled budget of Urban Planning Aid, Inc. (UPA), a wide-ranging technical assistance and organizing support group headquartered in Cambridge, Mass.

Funded by the "War on Poverty," UPA upset the government and its business-world friends by taking to heart the announced goal of combat with the "root causes of poverty"—which UPA saw twined in the social and economic relationships of capitalism.

Because UPA went after some of those roots energetically and productively, the organization has been attacked by the likes of *Barrons* weekly (not to mention the Cambridge Chamber of Commerce), sued for cutting the profits of millionaire landlords and repeatedly sentenced to termination of budget by its funding source, the Community Services Administration (CSA).

The battering has been heavy. A 1973 cutoff of funds, for instance, was overturned in court only after UPA had struggled through several payless months. And the latest CSA execution attempt—announced on election day—looked like it would do the whole job. But at the last minute, Boston's school-bussing judge, Arthur Garrity, issued a temporary restraining order.

The ruling took note of procedural irregularities and lack of evidence in the government action, but Garrity's main finding was that CSA's abuse of UPA was chilling to First Amendment rights of free expression. In short, it ain't illegal to put the blame where it belongs—al-

Cutoff ruled a threat to First Amendment right to free expression.

though most anti-poverty agencies have been too timid or corrupt to discover that fact.

"Property theft."

Of course, it was UPA's deeds that drew hostile attention more than its verbal expression. The most frequently quoted example of the organization's "un-American" language, for instance, is only read because it leads off a real estate research guide so good it has earned national renown. "Property is Theft," says the introduction to *People Before Property*, and continues: "at least it is when real estate ownership by large landlords, and financing by banks and insurance companies destroys communities, maintains substandard living conditions, and forces tenants and small homeowners to pay exorbitant housing costs." The contents of this and other UPA housing publications were so valued by Minnesota tenant organizations, among others, that then-Sen. Walter Mondale was persuaded to write CSA in support of UPA's 1976 refunding.

People Before Property is only one of a series of trenchant, "community-useable" publications (the term is UPA's) in national demand as research guides or models for local adaptation.

UPA's reputation is also strong at home. Hundreds of testimonials from community and workplace organizations in eastern Massachusetts show that the organization's efforts have helped low-income groups to resist, and sometimes block, the extortions that beset the search for shelter and income. UPA is a recognized community resource in matters as diverse as tenants rights, workplace health and safety, rent control, prison

reform, transportation planning, corporate research and community access to cable TV and other media.

The counter-testimonial is also telling. Landlords in particular, enraged by UPA's effective support of tenant organizing and rent control programs, have sought the organization's destruction for years. One has attacked directly: Max Kargman, Massachusetts' largest developer of tax-sheltered, federally-subsidized housing, has sued UPA and Tenants First Coalition (TFC), a group of tenant unions that grew on UPA revelations of fraud, profiteering and cost-cutting underneath rising rents in Federal Housing Administration programs.

When TFC smacked Kargman's First Realty Corporation with a series of rent strikes and other protests, Kargman filed charges of conspiracy to deprive him and his corporate partners of the benefits of their property. The suit revealed the solid effect of UPA's information in the hands of skilled organizers: 1,200 tenants were named as defendants along with the two organizations.

Kargman's suit, paralleling the gag threat perceived by Garrity, seeks the grotesque ruling that UPA should not be allowed to give tenants information on their legal rights and landlords' legal wrongs. It also seeks damages. And whether or not intended to succeed totally, it has been effective harassment. UPA and its sparse resources have been dragged through the courts now for almost two years, with no end in sight.

►Kill from inside.

All the while, high-level anti-poverty officials have been trying for a kill from the inside. But UPA's scrupulous adherence

to budget-governing rules has defeated these attacks. Repeated, punitive surprise audits, for instance, have always come out clean. At the same time, the reports of all the performance evaluators and hearing examiners below the political appointee level have unvaryingly (if sometimes grudgingly) been positive, and this has qualified the organization for continual refunding.

This undeniably high quality of performance was particularly embarrassing for the big bureaucrats in light of UPA's structure and operating procedures, which are as radical to administrators as rent control is to landlords.

The organization is cooperatively run, has no hierarchy of staff (clerical work is shared), pays salaries lower than the national average—partly because cost of living increases have been denied by CSA since 1973—and adjusts them to meet staff members' family-based economic needs.

The employees of this worker-controlled organization—as many as 25 at full staffing—generate more output for less money (the annual budget is about \$240,000) than any comparably-sized organization on the CSA list—or perhaps in any section of the government.

UPA's efficiency and popularity seem well fitted to the two outstanding image claims of the Carter administration. And UPA administrator Polly Halfkenny is optimistic about the organization's treatment at the hands of the new Carter appointees who will have to handle the court hearing, coming up in a couple of months, that will resolve the CSA-UPA battle one way or another.

If she is correct, and Garrity's First Amendment ruling is sustained, a dose of political freedom may spread through the entire anti-poverty community. ■

Steve Turner is a writer living in the Pioneer Valley of Massachusetts.

Lincoln

Continued from Page 13.

Lincoln's act. The proclamation was in effect, also, a declaration of total war and of unconditional surrender as the condition of peace. The expropriation of \$4 billion of slave property had become the paramount war aim. The Republican party, the black and white abolitionists, including the women's movement, had transformed a war to contain slavery into a revolutionary struggle against the slave regime. Lincoln was their willing leader.

Early in the war the radical Republicans

pressed Lincoln to permit the confiscation of slave property. In this case, as in others, the difference between Lincoln and his radical colleagues was in their sense of timing. As the great radical Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner said in December 1861, "The President tells me that the question between him and me is one of four weeks or at most six weeks when we shall all be together." When Lincoln sensed that the time was right for "radical" action, he moved swiftly and decisively. All great revolutionary politicians know the crucial importance of timing. They must seize the time. But they must know when the time has come. Lincoln's sense of timing was uncanny. And he never failed to seize it when the time came.

In the summer of 1862, well before the

midpoint in the Civil War, the demands of military strategy converged with Lincoln's own deep hostility to slavery. It was Lincoln's "personal wish" that "all men could be free" but at this early time he could keep the majority of whites in the anti-slavery coalition only on grounds of the paramount military necessity of emancipation.

After the issuance of a preliminary proclamation in September 1862 and a resounding Republican victory in the congressional elections, Lincoln decided that Northern sentiment would agree to the expropriation of slave property as a proper use of presidential war power. With language as dry as dust but ruthless in intent, Lincoln threw down the gauntlet to the slave power.

The emancipation policy affirmed a developing reality: numbers of slaves, abandoning the plantations, had initiated a "mass strike," often preceding the advance of the Union Army. The "strike" fed directly into Lincoln's military strategy. As he observed in mid-1863, black troops were a "resource which, if vigorously applied now, will soon close the contest." And this was so. The 180,000 black soldiers and sailors gave the Union the edge in several key campaigns.

That Lincoln's stand against slavery was a matter of basic principle was shown during the tough Wilderness campaign of 1864, when many Northerners, weary of the struggle cried for peace without emancipation. Lincoln invited the Afro-American leader Frederick Douglass to the White House to discuss measures to prevent a "premature peace." According to Douglass, Lincoln believed that "no solid and lasting peace could come short of absolute submission on the part of the rebels"—that is, their unconditional surrender predicated on the end of slavery.

Lincoln requested Douglass to assemble a band of guerrillas, "after the manner of John Brown," to "go into the rebel states, beyond the lines of our army, and carry the news of emancipation" to the blacks and recruit them into military units. With the success of the army's summer campaign this plan proved unnecessary,

but it did convince Douglass of Lincoln's "deep moral conviction against slavery."

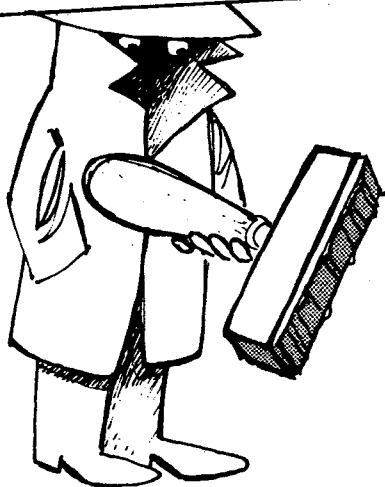
Before 1863 Lincoln had been among the advocates, both black and white, of "Negro colonization" in Africa and Central America. But he seized on the outstanding performance of black troops to strengthen the view that the freedmen had proven themselves worthy of citizenship. Lincoln wrote in mid-1863 that "commanders in the field ... believe the emancipation policy and the use of colored troops, constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion." By 1864 he admonished Northern whites that "these people ... have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended." There was no more talk of colonization. As the war transformed the nation, so it transformed Lincoln's public discourse.

Lincoln reaffirmed his commitment to total war against the slave power in his famous Second Inaugural Address. Too often Americans remember only the "Christlike" Lincoln, offering the hand of reconciliation to his Southern brethren: "With malice toward none and charity for all." That stereotype conceals Lincoln's intent. In the same speech, and in the next breath, he delivered a stern and uncompromising warning to the Confederacy that the North would fight "until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's ... unrequited toil shall be sunk; and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword."

The idea of an egalitarian society of small propertyholders propelled the Republican cause. Yet the Northern victory came to mean something quite different. The implementation of its revolutionary goal of individual liberty in a national marketplace served to liberate the small property holder from the threat of the slave power. But the realization of this revolutionary goal itself provided the preconditions for the emergence of a more

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Classified



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LIFE IN THE U.S.



A woman governor doesn't automatically mean a feminist program.

Gov. Ella Grasso is no feminist

By Marc Gunther

Hartford, Conn. On a snowy Connecticut morning two years ago, soon after Ella T. Grasso took office, a group of mayors arrived for a breakfast meeting at the governor's mansion. The snowstorm had caused some kitchen staff to be late for work, so Gov. Grasso donned an apron and began serving breakfast to the mayors, all of whom were men. The next day, the photographs made every newspaper in the state.

It was not the incident itself, but rather Grasso's response, that disturbed a group of women who brought it up during a meeting with her afterwards. "She didn't even seem to know what we were talking about," one said.

The governor has made a surprising number of similar "mistakes" that have rankled many women who supported her two years ago. Last spring, for example, after feminist groups drafted a "Women's Agenda" as part of International Women's Year, representatives in many states sought meetings with their governors on an agreed-upon day to present the document. In Connecticut they were told by an aide that Grasso was "too busy" to see them. Similarly, Jan. 11 was declared Alice Paul Day by the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania to honor the long-time feminist on her 92nd birthday. Before moving to a New Jersey convalescent home several years ago Paul lived in Ridgefield, Conn., but despite a request from women's groups, she received no similar recognition here. And, at the moment, Gov. Grasso is reportedly balking at a request from the state's Jaycees to declare February "Sexual Assault Awareness Month."

Ella Grasso was bound to disappoint many women and make some mistakes, given the high expectations she generated and the unusually close scrutiny she received after becoming the first woman in America to be elected governor in her own right. President Ford, after all, was admired for his lack of pretense when he toasted muffins in the White House kitchen and, under other circumstances, Grasso might have won the kind of praise for her breakfast behavior that she received when she traded in the gubernatorial limousine for a police car and sold the state airplane her predecessor had enjoyed.

In fact, Grasso's symbolic mistakes would probably have been quickly forgotten if they did not, at least in the eyes of many feminists here, betray a lack of sympathy—and sometimes outright discomfort—with the concerns of the women's movement.

It did not always seem that way, at least in the national media. When former Rep. Bella Abzug of New York called 1974 "the year of the woman," *Newsweek* con-

curred and used the phrase along with a photo of Grasso on the cover of a special issue featuring women in politics. And, though Grasso never claimed to be a feminist, it is indisputable that she could not have been elected without the women's movement.

"The women's movement created the climate that made it possible for her to become governor," says Ruth Mantak, chair of the Connecticut Women's Political Caucus. Mantak says, too, that the "fact that Connecticut hasn't fallen apart" has helped other women seeking political office. "We're viewed from other places as fortunate to have a woman governor," she says. "It's still very nice to refer to the governor as 'she'."

The Women's Political Caucus was one of several women's groups to endorse Grasso in 1974. It did so after she told the

caucus (at a meeting recalled by several women interviewed for this story) that she would not allow her strong personal opposition to abortion to interfere with her decisions as governor. Grasso also promised not to attempt to circumvent the abortion rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court—a promise she has now broken.

If feminists have been disappointed by some of the governor's symbolic actions, they have been positively appalled by a number of her policy decisions affecting women. They are angry, most of all, about abortion.

Connecticut's abortion policy is now the subject of a case before the U.S. Supreme Court that attorneys say could affect the access to abortions of millions of poor women in the U.S. (See accompanying article.) The state contends that it can limit payments for abortions under the Medicaid program to cases of medical or psychiatric need. That policy is being challenged as unconstitutional by a group of poor women who have been joined by national women's and abortion rights organizations. Grasso says she supports the state position as a legal way to fight abortion.

On other issues too feminists are less than enthused about Grasso's record. Of the 21 cabinet-level appointments she made upon taking office, only two were women: one served briefly as commissioner on aging and another was given the "woman's job" of consumer protection commissioner. Later, however, Grasso chose four women as deputy commissioners, including the first ever in banking, and she has since named a woman as personnel commissioner and appointed several female judges.

Mantak, a former Republican councilor in a Hartford suburb, calls the governor's record on appointments good despite criticism from some women's groups.

Medicaid payments for abortion at stake in Connecticut case

If the U.S. Supreme Court decides that the abortion policy of the state of Connecticut is constitutional, it will immediately become much more difficult for millions of poor women across the country to obtain legal abortions. In part, those women will be able to thank Ella Grasso for their troubles.

Gov. Grasso's attorney general and social services commissioner are asking the high court to overrule a three-judge federal panel that declared the state's policy unconstitutional in December 1975. The state officials are seeking to limit state Medicaid payments for abortion to cases of medical or psychiatric need, and to eliminate payment for so-called elective abortions. A ruling on the dispute is expected soon.

The importance of the case is underlined by the fact that the group of women challenging the state policy have been joined by attorneys representing the National Organization for Women, American Public Health Association, Planned Parenthood and 66 medical school deans, professors and individual doctors.

Patricia A. Butler is an attorney with the National Health Law Program in Los Angeles which has joined the case on behalf of a 28-year-old South Dakota woman who has been unable to obtain state payment for an abortion. Butler says the court's ruling will affect the policies and practices of most states with respect to Medicaid payments for abortions. Already 11 states are seeking to withhold such payments along the lines argued by Connecticut. New Jersey has filed a brief supporting

the state's position, and several jurisdictions are already refusing payment for abortions to indigent women.

Already, according to several studies, access to abortions has been severely curtailed for poor women. The Alan Guttmacher Institute in New York estimates that in 1975 between 163,000 and 280,000 Medicaid-eligible women were unable to obtain abortions, largely as a result of Medicaid policies and administrative practices.

Despite the much-vaunted problem of skyrocketing Medicaid costs, the anti-abortion policy is far more expensive than one which permits women free choice. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare says an average first trimester abortion (which covers about 85 percent of all abortions) costs \$150 compared to the average Medicaid payment of \$556 for delivery in a public hospital. The department also estimates that for each pregnancy among Medicaid-eligible women brought to term, first-year costs to federal, state and local governments for maternity, pediatric care and public assistance amount to about \$2,200. The situation is probably the first ever where poor people are seeking and being denied a less costly benefit in favor of a more expensive one.

Butler and the other attorneys representing the women's and health groups believe the state's position is as weak legally as it is logically. "If there's ever a case that ought to be won, it's this one," Butler says. But she remains only cautiously optimistic. "You just never know what will come out of the Supreme Court."

"Perhaps we in the caucus understand politics better than other people do," she says. "Politics is a very sophisticated process."

A dissenting view is heard from Democratic State Sen. Betty Hudson of Madison, a forthright feminist who has often challenged the governor on women's issues. "Without comparison to other states or previous administrations, the facts say we have far too few women in policymaking positions and the judicial branch," she says.

The legislative programs advocated by feminists have generally received quiet support from the governor. Grasso signed bills in each of the last two years revising the state's laws on sexual assault. She also approved legislation to establish an Office of Child Day Care and to equalize retirement benefits for both sexes. The Connecticut Women's Educational and Legal Fund, a group fighting sex discrimination, says the state now has one of the best structures of law for women in the country.

But the governor herself has rarely been in the forefront of the equal rights battles. Though her aides will say that Grasso supports the Equal Rights Amendment, Alice Chapman, state coordinator of NOW, believes the governor has avoided being publicly identified with the amendment. "I've never heard Ella Grasso herself come out and speak in favor of the ERA," she says.

Nonetheless, Hudson says that Grasso's presence has done an enormous amount of good for women. "Anytime there's a woman in a position that is non-traditional, we begin to change the qualifications for that job," she says. "It's very important for young women—even little girls—to have role models," adds Mantak.

Diane Goldsmith, one of the hosts of a public radio program called "Women in Your Ear," says women are still struggling with traditional notions of leadership and power. "It's extremely important to have a woman in a visible position like the governor," she says. "On the other hand, when the actions she's taken have been detrimental to women, you have a difficult problem." Alice Chapman of NOW puts it more bluntly: "She will do great things for Iowa, where they don't know her."

Grasso describes herself as a "moderate." Last year, when she campaigned for U.S. Sen. Henry Jackson during his hawkish run for the presidency, there were indications that she had vice presidential aspirations. Now there is talk of a possible appointment in the Carter administration, and the governor says she is keeping her options open.

Ella Grasso for vice president? Perhaps. The just demands for equal representation and the significant gains that would result for women would have to be weighed against her disappointing record. Indeed, the question illustrates the way in which the issue of equal representation competes with questions of public policy and class for the attention of liberals and radicals—often at the expense of policy and class concerns. The public discussion of Jimmy Carter's cabinet selections, for example, featured daily "head counts" of women and minorities. Thus, HUD secretary Patricia Roberts Harris represents women and blacks, not IBM and Chase Manhattan, on whose boards she serves and whose ideology, presumably, she shares.

But the head counts—and even the politicization of breakfast—will rightfully continue until equal representation is taken for granted. Sex, in a sexist society, must be politics. In such a society, we are left with politicians like Ella Grasso who, in the words of one of her longtime supporters, is finally "just one of the boys."

Marc Gunther is a reporter living in Manchester, Conn.

Wilmington citizens resist hospital removal

By Robert Steinbrook

Wilmington, Del. It was June 1975 when Denise Smokes, pregnant and bleeding internally from a possible miscarriage, was rushed by ambulance to Wilmington Medical Center's General Division. Late that evening, doctors sent her home after deciding against an immediate abortion. Separated from her husband and without transportation, she walked about two miles until a friend passed by and gave her a lift the rest of the way.

"I was hemorrhaging and clotting on every step," the 24-year-old college student says. "If I had to walk home from a hospital [in the suburbs], I probably would have died."

Retired custodian Raymond Brown, unable to walk without leg braces or crutches, spends several dollars each time he takes a cab from his north Wilmington home to the hospital now. He despairs of spending \$25 or so for a round-trip cab fare to a proposed new hospital in suburban Stanton.

"God almighty, I wouldn't make it," he says of Plan Omega, the Wilmington Medical Center's plan to build an 800 bed hospital in the city's suburbs and sharply curtail services provided in the city itself. The center, the major health care provider in a state where there are no county or state funded hospitals, plans to close its antiquated "Memorial" and "General" divisions and leave only its "Delaware" division with 250 beds, a first-class emergency room, all of its current outpatient clinics and a few specialty services in its city facility.

► "An interracial thing."

"It's an interracial thing to get rid of the blacks and the poorer whites [pushed by] people who've got money, like the du Ponts, and who can pay for private rooms," Brown says.

Denise Smokes, Raymond Brown, other city residents and the city itself don't believe the private, non-profit Wilmington Medical Center's promise that its quality of care "will be the same" in the city and the suburbs and that adequate inexpensive transportation will be provided.

Because they think Plan Omega will guarantee Wilmington's poor, black, Spanish-speaking, handicapped and elderly second-class medical care, they have filed a potentially landmark suit in U.S. District Court here to block the center's modernization plans. Named as defendants are the medical center (which receives about \$25 million a year in federal funds, largely from Medicare and Medicaid), the Department of Health Education and Welfare and county and state planning agencies, all of which "approved" the plan.

At issue are two conflicting attitudes: the medical center's contention that a facility serving city and suburbs can just as well be in the suburbs, and the plaintiffs' assertion that probable discrimination, intentional or not, resulting from a hospital relocation should be enough to block that relocation.

"The government has permitted hospitals to run away [from cities] all over the country," says Marilyn G. Rose of Washington's Center for Law and Social Policy, which is handling much of the legal work in the suit filed last September. "This is the first time I know that somebody has brought a law suit before [a hospital moved]."

► Only the latest example.

Indeed, Rose told federal judge James L. Latchum in Wilmington earlier this month that HEW's failure to review the center's plans was only the latest example of nearly absent national enforcement of civil rights laws as applied to health care facilities.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights pointed out in November 1975 that HEW's hospital guidelines didn't even address the relocation issue despite HEW promises to supply state agencies with guidelines on this issue in August



Photo by Eric R. Crossman

Denise Stokes: "If I had to walk home from a hospital [in the suburbs] I would have died."

1974. Two and a half years later these guidelines are still in the draft stage.

HEW officials admitted in depositions taken for the Wilmington suit that the agency now allocates less than the equivalent of 20 full-time workers nationwide to monitor civil rights compliance in some 90 different health and social service programs, covering most of the nation's hospitals, nursing homes, and community mental health programs. (Ironically, the number had hovered in the 75 to 115 range until HEW was forced to reassign staff to education enforcement following settlement of a Washington, D.C., lawsuit contending its efforts in that field were inadequate.)

When asked what sort of job HEW can do now in health and social service, Martin Hughes Gerry IV, director of the Office of Civil Rights said we "can only do the absolute minimum" and "by necessity must neglect significant areas of our responsibility."

► Gary citizens act.

HEW's Chicago regional office has been the most active in studying hospital relocations. In some instances, it has even obtained written assurances from hospitals planning suburban branches that further reductions in city services must first be approved by the agency.

But black citizens in Gary, Ind., think such agreements are little more than pretences to get federal construction funds and then flee the city. They filed suit Dec. 29 against the Secretary of HEW and Gary Methodist Hospital, charging the hospital was illegally transferring services—specifically its X-ray therapy unit—to a new suburban branch in direct violation of an agreement it reached with HEW in July 1973.

"What we envision is they are going to close the [city] hospital and the community will be left without anything," said Gary attorney Julian B. Allen, who filed the class action suit. "It is pretty well documented that has been the plan all along. Many doctors are being quite frank. Most have moved out of the city and are putting their patients in the suburban branch."

Allen wants a federal court to withhold about \$50,000 a month in federal interest subsidies from Gary Methodist and to suspend a \$8.1 million loan and grant package for expansion of both hospital branches approved last fall.

Attorney Rose and the plaintiffs in the Wilmington suit likewise contend that "no matter what they say" the Wilmington Medical Center has another Gary in store for Delaware.

► City versus suburban needs.

They point to the fact that 73 percent of the area's elderly, 71 percent of its low income families and 87 percent of its minorities—the groups most likely to need hospitals—live in areas best served by a city facility.

On the other hand, the medical center, with a board of directors chaired by a Dupont Co. executive and controlled by members of the city's business and legal elite, has argued that many of its existing facilities are outdated and that northern New Castle County, including Wilmington, has far too many hospital beds while the southwest part of the county, with a large suburban white population, has none.

They add that the new site will only be a 15-minute drive from the city on an interstate highway—though public trans-

portation will take more than an hour. And they say that if the medical center doesn't build, a proprietary hospital will, competing for wealthy suburban patients and likely turning the Wilmington Medical Center into a black charity facility.

The suit is now before U.S. District Court Judge Latchum, who ordered a 60-day collection of detailed information on the medical center's patients and a speedy review by the federal government. HEW, which approved the change routinely last August, announced Jan. 13 it would fully investigate the "very serious" complaints of discrimination made against the plan. The medical center, other than to decry "costly delaying tactics," has maintained a public silence.

In court, Judge Latchum reiterated earlier this month that "the suit, on its face, does not appear frivolous" and has wondered about the "disastrous" consequences of building the new hospital before the discrimination question is resolved one way or the other.

With that the plaintiffs agree, for attorney Rose says the alternatives are "horrendous" if a "dual hospital system is built. 'Will HEW cut off the \$25 million a year or order the hospital torn down and rebuilt in the city? Or engage in massive busing ... [realizing] that sick people, unlike school children, cannot wait on street corners for a bus?'"

Robert Steinbrook, a former Miami Herald reporter, is at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine and works part-time for the Philadelphia Bulletin.

Heart disease: a killer on the rise

"We now often see men in their 30s and even 20s with heart disease. Ten years ago I would have said the most vulnerable period for heart attacks among men started at age 55, but now I would say 45."

By Bonne Nesbitt
Staff Writer

According to the American Heart Association, heart disease kills more than 50 percent of all people who die in this country. Dr. Charles S. Vil, president-elect of the Chicago Heart Association, says 1.9 million people died in 1975 from heart attacks or cardiovascular related diseases such as stroke or embolism.

All the remaining diseases put together do not account for as many deaths per year as heart disease, says Dr. Vil, who adds that "men in particular are being affected at an increasingly earlier age."

"We now often see men in their 30s and even 20s with heart disease. Ten years ago I would have said the most vulnerable period for heart attacks among men started at age 55, but now I would say 45." While the doctor stressed that anyone between the ages of 20 and 90 can be stricken, he said the ten year period between 45 and 55 has the highest statistical incidence.

►A disease of affluent society.

Women, too, are having more attacks and are having them at a younger age. "As women are becoming liberated, they are smoking more," said Dr. Vil.

The likelihood of a woman's experiencing a heart attack increases as she goes beyond menopause. This is because "her hormones seem to give her a certain amount of protection."

Dr. Vil said there are three "major risk factors predisposing to heart disease: high blood pressure, cigarette smoking and diet cholesterol.... It's a disease of an affluent society. Foods high in animal fat—meat, dairy products and eggs—have high cho-

lesterol" that accumulates in the arteries causing the condition known as atherosclerosis.

A heart attack may occur with no warning at all, but in most cases warning pains precede an actual attack by months or sometimes years. In a new book written by Dr. Arthur Vineberg called *How to Live With Your Heart: The Family Guide to Heart Health* some of the symptoms are given:

- Any pain in the center of the chest, anywhere along the breast plate, around the nipples, or in the left arm, shoulder or neck.
- Pain which occurs during a period of emotion or during exercise, and then quickly disappears.
- Repeated episodes of chest pain during physical activity is especially significant according to Dr. Vineberg. "The first pain is a routine warning. The second, under the same conditions, is a flashing red signal."

In his book, Dr. Vineberg says the following kind of pain may indicate a heart attack in progress:

- Severe, crushing chest pains.
- The pain usually strikes in the center of the chest, but it may occur in the lower part of the chest or in the arms.
- The pain may feel like a fist crashing through the chest wall.
- It will not be possible to take a deep breath.
- The hands become cold and clammy.
- The forehead is covered with sweat—often cold sweat.
- The face becomes gray in color.

►In the event of heart attack...

Severe chest pain can sometimes be caused by an acute gallbladder attack or indigestion, among other things, but "if you

sweat, it's almost certainly a heart attack," the doctor said.

In the event of an episode of severe chest pain, he prescribes the following: "You should lie flat or propped up by pillows, whichever is more comfortable. Stay quiet for half an hour. If the pain persists call a doctor, hospital or the police."

Angina, heart pain caused by a temporary lack of oxygen to the heart muscle, has a fairly typical pattern, according to Vineberg. "It is usually felt in the center of the chest, is squeezing or pressing in type, goes across the pectoral regions and may go down the left arm or both arms."

"In some cases it goes into the neck and in others through the chest to the back between the shoulder blades. Dr. Vineberg says it is usually triggered by such things as excitement, effort, walking into a cold wind or after eating."

Angina usually only lasts for a few minutes and usually stops when the precipitating cause is removed. It is usually treated by the drug nitroglycerine, which temporarily dilates the coronary arteries.

Recognizing the symptoms of heart disease and those of a heart attack can obviously save your life. But as both doctors Vineberg and Vil agree, the best protection is prevention.

If you reduce the three greatest risk factors in heart disease you greatly reduce the likelihood of having a heart attack. "quit smoking, have your blood pressure checked regularly, maintain normal weight and follow a regular exercise program," Dr. Vil said.

He also recommends checking out the coronary care services available in your community. "What ambulance services are available? Is there a hospital or medical facility nearby which has trained paramedics that can bring an intensive care unit into the home" in the event of a sudden heart attack? Such information should be prominently posted in every home, because "60 percent of the deaths in heart attacks occur before the patient even gets to the medical facility," Dr. Vil said. Those first few minutes after a heart attack are the most critical. "Once you get the medical treatment there's a pretty good chance you'll survive," he said. ■

Puerto Rican solidarity group to meet

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, an organization supporting independence for Puerto Rico, will hold its second National Conference Feb. 18-20 in Chicago.

Some 80 to 90 delegates from chapters organized in 20 cities across the country are expected to participate in discussing how to build a mass Puerto Rican solidarity organization over the next two years of work. On the agenda for the workshops and plenaries will be the adoption of a political statement, national program and the election of a new national board.

A "public evening of solidarity with the struggle for Puerto Rican independence" will be sponsored by the conference Sat., Feb. 19, at Dunbar High School.

Cindy Zucker of the Chicago PRSC

chapter says that there has been a growing response in the U.S. to the cause of Puerto Rican independence. "No matter what Ford might say, independence is on the agenda. The Puerto Rican people have been struggling for freedom for over a century and there is no turning back." She also points to a July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia where 60,000 people rallied, with independence for Puerto Rico as one of their demands, and to a July 1 congressional resolution, introduced by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), calling for the complete withdrawal of the U.S. from the island.

Those wishing more information on the conference should write PRSC, c/o People's Law Office, 110 S. Dearborn, Suite 707, Chicago, IL 60603, or call 312/236-3504. ■

ALBUM

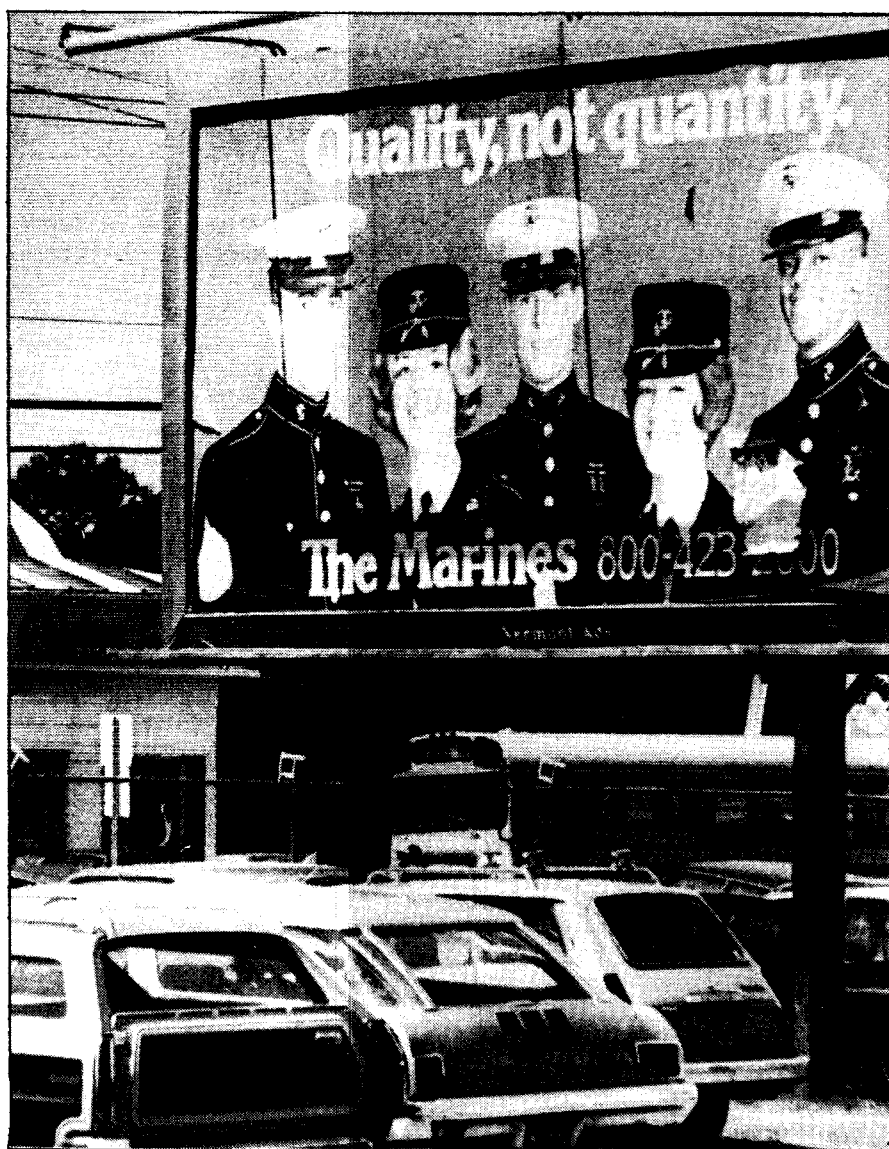


Photo by Jane Melnick



Photo by Lydia Marquand

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Sometimes a woman is safer on the street

"Serious conflict [may] tear a marriage apart. If that conflict expresses itself violently, the woman as the physically weaker partner is most apt to bear the physical brunt of the ordeal."

BATTERED WIVES

By Del Martin
Glide Publications, 330 Ellis, San Francisco, 94102
\$6.95, 288 pp.

"Because of the increase in the crime of rape ... American women are often advised to 'stay at home where they won't get hurt.' But people ... might change their tune if they had access to local police reports ... which suggest that women may be even less safe in their homes than they are in the streets."

Battered Wives, from which the above is quoted, deals with a problem that is only beginning to force its way into public consciousness: physical violence directed against women by the men they live with, in or out of wedlock.

The author, Del Martin, is a long-time activist in the feminist movement, founder of La Casa de las Madres (San Francisco), and recently appointed co-ordinator of the National Task Force on Battered Wives and Household Violence of NOW (National Organization of Women).

Martin was recently interviewed by *In These Times* correspondent Sam Silver in San Francisco where she currently serves as chairperson of the city's Commission on the Status of Women.

►Master/slave relationship.

Asked why it has taken so long for the extent and seriousness of the problem to be revealed, Martin had a number of explanations.

First is the reluctance of the victimized woman to talk. "Women have always been blamed for anything that goes wrong in a marriage," Martin says. "It's

her responsibility to keep that marriage together. Its failure is her failure. Naturally she doesn't want to talk about it." And even if she does talk, if she turns for help to the police or the courts, she is often blamed for the assault and stigmatized for what has happened to her.

The current interest in child abuse and in rape has changed the situation to a degree. And the woman's movement has given some victims the courage to speak out. "Women have shared experiences. [in consciousness-raising sessions] and found out that theirs is a common problem."

Asked what she believes to be the cause of the problem, Martin pointed to the "master/slave relationship prevalent in marriage."

"The roles of 'wife' and 'husband' ... developed with the patriarchal nuclear family.... Men are seen as dominant (and thus strong, active, rational, authoritarian, aggressive and stable), and women as dependent (and thus submissive, passive and non-rational).... In modern society, ... both men and women are having difficulty living up to these artificially determined roles.... Serious conflict between social expectation and personal preference [may] tear a marriage apart. If that conflict expresses itself violently, the woman as the physically weaker partner is most apt to bear the physical brunt of the ordeal," she says in her book.

►Real danger.

One of the questions most frequently asked of Martin is, "Why doesn't a beaten wife leave her husband?" The answer: "The victim is usually dependent upon her assailant. If she has no



Del Martin, author of *Battered Wives*.

Photo by Sam Silver

skills and never has had any training, she has no way to earn a living for herself and her children. She has no place to go.

"Say she flees for her life and goes to the welfare office for assistance. The first thing they ask her is, 'How much money does your husband make?' His salary will probably disqualify her for relief. And they say, 'You've got a place to go; go home.' No one considers the danger that may involve."

How real is the danger? "That depends. Violence may begin with a shove or a slap. But every time it occurs, it becomes worse. We're talking about full-fledged beatings, broken bones, bleeding wounds." The fear of death and, in some instances, the reality.

Is there a correlation between military training and domestic violence? Martin says there is. "The Eisenberg-Micklow study

and others show that men who have been in the military are more prone to domestic violence. And this is also true of the police.

"We have information that would indicate that in California we have at least one police chief who is a wife-beater, and another who is president of a police officers' association." So when a victim calls her local police station for help, she may be inviting another wife-beater into her home.

►Practical advice.

What practical advice does Del Martin have for battered wives? A great deal, most of which is set forth in her book. There are chapters that give a background understanding: "The Batterer—What Makes Him a Brute?" "The Victim—Why Does She Stay?" "The Failure of the Legal System" and "Social Services—The Big Runaround." There are

chapters on "Survival Tactics," suggestions for "Remedial Legislation;" and most practical of all, "Refuges for Battered Women"—where they can stay while they pull themselves together and make plans—when and if they take the first step toward helping themselves.

Martin has one further suggestion:

"In the beginning of my book there is a letter from a battered wife whose husband is a prominent physician. She documented her case and put it in the hands of some women. She told them that if anything were to happen to her, she wanted it made public. Then she told her husband what she had done.

"He has not laid a hand on her in over a year. This indicates to me that if a man has something to lose, he can easily control his rage."

SIMONE WEIL: A LIFE

By Simone Petrement
Pantheon Books, \$15, 577 pp.

Simone Petrement was a life-long friend of Simone Weil, and had access to Weil's papers. Despite her intimate knowledge of her subject, or because of it, Ms. Petrement is splendidly modest: she will say, I think when Simone wrote this she may have been feeling so-and-so, or, perhaps what Simone had in mind was such-and-such. Petrement's modesty makes one aware how characteristically overconfident are the judgments of historians and biographers.

But what the reader thinks about this book will depend, of course, on his or her reaction to this philosopher/activist. Simone Weil must have been, and in death still is, very irritating. Beginning as something close to a Marxist, she ended very nearly a Catholic. Yet she declined to take the sacraments for which she longed in the belief that the

church would require her to give up her conviction that Platonism and many other philosophies proclaimed essentially the same truth as Catholicism.

Upper-middle-class in background and tastes, Weil sought to practice what she preached by working in a factory (for part of one year) and restricting herself to what was available to working people. The result was heroic or ludicrous, depending on one's point of view. Manually awkward and short-sighted in addition to everything else, Weil could not sustain her initiatives. In the factory, she could not make the piecework norms. In the Spanish Civil War, she stepped

in a low pot in which oil was heating and badly burned herself. In World War II, when she refused to eat more than the diet generally available in France, she died at age 34.

Moreover, Weil irritates in the manner of people just a bit brighter than oneself. On a memorable occasion when she encountered Leon Trotsky, Trotsky's wife was heard to exclaim in astonishment that the lady was holding her own. In her essay "Are We Heading for the Proletarian Revolution?" written in 1933 when she was 22, Weil sets forth conclusions which many of us in the new left took decades to arrive at. (This essay together

with other political essays by Weil is available in English in *Oppression and Liberty*, University of Massachusetts Press.)

As for myself, I admire Simone Weil profoundly. She had the intellectual power to fasten on the essential element in a situation and was right about one essential after another: the character of the Soviet Union; the meaning of Hitler's accession to power; the unpreparedness of the working class in capitalist societies to assume state power. More extraordinary, she put the whole weight of her life behind whatever at each stage in her development she considered thus to be essential.

For me, the ludicrousness, the awkwardness, the occasional insensitivity as to the effects of her acts on others, are the attributes of this commitment. Like the new left, which she influenced through Camus and *Politics* magazine, Simone Weil demythologized Marxism and invited us to fasten on elemental facts, such as liberty, fraternity, craftsmanship, violence. I cannot follow her religious journey, either intellectually or in life, but I note that A.J. Muste underwent a similar experience at about the same time, and like Weil, came to feel that violence was the single most important political fact of the 20th century.

Of some persons it is true that no matter what one finally thinks about them, one is the better for having been in their presence. Simone Weil is such a person.

—Staughton Lynd

Staughton Lynd publishes a regular column on "Labor and the Law" in *In These Times*.

Simone Weil: She grasped the essence and acted on it



Ben Vereen as "Chicken George"

Eighty million Americans watch *Roots* on TV

Last week America, black and white, confronted its racist past on nationwide TV.

Eighty million people watched ABC's week long dramatization of Alex Haley's *Roots*, more people than watched the Superbowl or *Gone With the Wind*. As a commentator said on Thursday, after this TV will never be the same. Probably not. If money can be made by depicting slavery from the point of view of blacks, prime time is due for a new set of issues.

Techniques from every kind of Hollywood film went into *Roots*, especially those from Westerns. But with a difference. This time it was blacks who were shown as heroes and heroines, and the slaveowners of the South were, for once, painted in something like their true colors. "The Triumph of an American Family" used America's most popular cultural form to repudiate one of America's most pervasive ideas—racism.

It even made good points about sexism. There were portraits

of strong black women. Rape of black women by white men was shown as a common and terrorizing aspect of the Old South. A white woman explained to her obviously more intelligent slave that she guessed God made all white folks smarter than black ones, "just like he made men smarter than women."

When *Roots* topped *Gone With the Wind*, it was more than just ratings. It was the image of a strong, heroic black family edging out the myth of contented "darkies" under slavery.

Roots, too, is the stuff of myth. It gives America a new set of popular ideals.

Like the Western, it might be accused of making its characters larger than life. Not all blacks emerging from slavery were as merciful as Tom Harvey who, in the final episode, declines to whip the white who has humiliated and beaten him. Blacks, too, sometimes committed desperate and inhumane acts. Yet it's a better myth, closer to the truth about slavery, and much

closer to the realities all Americans need to face about themselves.

Sixty years ago D. W. Griffiths made cinema history with *Birth of a Nation*. He showed what film could do as a new art form, but his content was post-Reconstruction Southern, including heroic Ku Klux Klaners. *Roots*, on the other hand, breaks no new artistic ground, but its viewpoint on black history, never before expressed on prime time TV, has, as Haley says, changed the culture of America.

It's a story that reveals clearly how, as one white character in *Roots* remarks, property is power, and always will be.

—Judy MacLean

In These Times will print in upcoming issues a broad spectrum of reactions to the TV showing of Roots. Included will be the experience of teachers—school and college—who used the material of the book and TV show in class; civil rights activists, black and white; as well as historians.

The executives who control what America sees and hears on its airwaves are always excusing their product by saying, "We give the public what it wants." No one rises to refute them because there are no Nielson ratings for what audiences would really like to see/hear. And if there were, it wouldn't prove much because there's no way to opt for what you have never experienced.

There are, however, indications that, given a chance, Americans would pick something better than—or at least different from—what they're getting now. One straw in the wind is the popularity of BBC-produced soap opera, comedy, and drama. Another is the growing response to non-commercial radio.

Radio is more sensitive to listener-reaction because it's cheaper to produce and thus less dependent on Big Advertising. There are more channels—especially on FM—and thus more opportunity for picking and choosing. And in the case of most non-commercial radio, it has to please its listeners or go hungry.

There have been non-commercial stations in the U.S. ever since FM sets appeared on the market. Most are affiliated to some sort of educational institution, though even this type of station is now frequently supported in large part by funds solicited from the public. But thanks to an FCC regulation that reserved a number of frequencies for community use, it has always been possible to establish and operate a community-controlled, or "listener-sponsored" radio station—something that would be almost impossible on TV.

As early as the 1950s, some of the more successful listener-sponsored stations combined in a loose federation that eventually became Pacifica Broadcasting. The group—which now includes five stations—shares on a use-what-you-like basis the material



Alternative networks give public a chance

Listener sponsored radio offers better programs and freer discussion of public concern.

produced by each, and gets limited financial and technical aid from a private foundation. KPFA and KPFA, the Berkeley and Los Angeles stations, fought successful defense actions against political repression, triggered by their inclusion of radical commentators during the '60s.

►A real national network.

But not until 1970 was there a real national network of such stations with a central organization dedicated to "producing, acquiring, and distributing" high quality programs for a token yearly fee, now \$100.

National Public Radio (funded by a small slice of the funds Congress allocates to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting) has grown from the original 90 member stations to 200. Its coverage reaches from Alaska to Puerto Rico. Seventy percent of its stations are licensed to universities or colleges, which pick up some of the tab. The rest are licensed to public and state school systems, public library systems, or community organizations. In practically all cases, listeners contribute a vital part of the budget and share the responsibility for policy-making.

NPR does not cover all non-commercial, community radio in the U.S. To join the network a station must meet certain minimum standards, which are constantly being revised upwards:

- A broadcast day of at least 18 hours, 365 days a year;
- a full-time staff of at least five persons;
- a budget of at least \$75,000 a year;
- power of at least 250 watts for AM, 3000 watts for FM.

Any station that meets these criteria can join NPR and avail itself of its weekly 36 (approximately) hours of programming: news, commentary, educational material, music and cultural discussions. The rest of the 126 hours must be filled by the member station's own resources or acquired elsewhere.

The NPR contribution is of remarkably high quality and variety, although it tends to be a little high-brow in its musical selections (opera, symphony, some jazz, and a good deal of ethnic-folk) and in its "informational" programming. One weekly feature called "Options" uses lectures from the Brookings Institute and the Chautauqua series and bills itself as a "free univer-

sity of the air."

Of wider appeal is NPR's full coverage of Congressional and other government hearings and major speeches delivered at the Washington Press Club. Top banana in the news department is unquestionably the hour-and-a-half "All Things Considered," which has won the prestigious Peabody Award for overall excellence and the Ohio University Award for one of its anchorpersons, Susan Stamberg. A new series called "Pauline Frederick and Colleagues" will headline the veteran U.N. correspondent and a changing panel of experts on foreign and domestic news.

As it heads into 1977, NPR is geared to an attack on the problem of "lack of public awareness." Even in those parts of the country best served by member stations, there is a vast public that doesn't know NPR exists or what it has to offer. Also there is shaping up a struggle for a larger cut of the CPB budget pie.

►"Radio Free Radio." Meanwhile, a new national network of non-commercial stations is getting its act together and pressing CPB on another flank.

"Poor People's Radio," or "Public Access Radio," or "Rad-

io Free Radio"—call it what you will—is a wildly heterogeneous collection of non-commercial stations that either do not meet the "minimum standards" of NPR or do not choose to affiliate for other reasons.

From 10-watt local "radio freaks" to some of the powerful Pacifica stations, the 50 members of the new National Federation of Community Broadcasters have little in common except the lack of institutional sponsorship. They offer each other a service called Possible Tape Exchange; a yearly meeting at which to air problems and explore answers; and an ably articulated attack on CPB's "exclusionary" policies.

The problem is not simply that poor, weak, understaffed stations can't avail themselves of the goodies provided by taxpayer money—though this is a legitimate beef. There is also, as of 1976, a direct subsidy paid out of CPB funds to listener-sponsored stations who meet NPR standards. For every dollar such stations can raise from their listeners, CPB will pay them 12 cents. It adds up. And as the NFCB critics see it, it's another case of the rich getting richer at the public trough.

This controversy can't do anything but good from the viewpoint of NPR as well as NFCB. The more hassle, the more publicity, and the more likely that the short-changed American audience will become aware of its power.

Public radio under any aegis offers more than an alternative to commercial programming. It is the last open road to free communication between different sections of the community, uncensored by government, network, or advertising executives.

The citizenry can still squeeze on to its own airwaves if it will only organize itself to seize the time.

—Janet Stevenson

Lincoln

Continued from Page 14

powerful capitalist class and a more stratified, less egalitarian society.

In avid pursuit of individual liberty in the marketplace, or "free enterprise," an emergent capitalist class was able to relegate the majority of whites and blacks to positions of propertylessness and political dependence. As long as Lincoln and the Republicans held to the idea that private property rights were inseparable from human rights—the fundamental conception of their bourgeois era—there could be no true equality and no durable liberty for anyone except those able to accumulate productive property.

Few during the war anticipated such an

outcome. What union soldier would have fought to become what he considered a "wage-slave?" And what slave joined a strike against his masters with the expectation that Northern and Southern capitalists would combine in the post-war period to make black civil and political rights a dead letter?

But it is beside the point to blame Lincoln for the outcome of the Second American Revolution, just as it would be to blame the Jacobins for the outcome of the French Revolution. The ideals and achievements of Lincoln and the Republican movement, properly understood, form a basic part of our heritage.

Lincoln and the Republicans were able to link a revolutionary movement for human liberation to the immediate aspirations of the majority for a free-labor, small property system, by showing how

their aspirations made the overthrow of slavery both necessary and possible. They raised the fundamental questions of social class and property systems within the framework of the American political system, as a prelude to breaking beyond it to new frameworks. The armed struggle of the Civil War proceeded from more conventional forms of political struggle, and then played its part in effecting revolutionary change in American political and economic life. But neither armed struggle nor revolutionary change were possible until the Republican party won a mass base within the existing system of legitimacy and seized control of the political apparatus, forcing the slaveholders to deny the legitimacy of Republican electoral victories and to act the part of rebels. John Brown's guerrillas offered a noble and inspiring act of exemplary virtue, but

the Republicans succeeded in galvanizing a mass revolutionary movement against the slave system.

The Republican movement ultimately failed to realize its goal of liberty and equality in a democratic society. Its identification of liberty and equality with private production led not to the realization of liberty and equality but to the rapid development of capitalist property—and the corporate system of our own time.

The task today is to realize the Republican goal of liberty and equality for all, creatively building a mass movement against the extension of the corporate power and looking toward its eventual extinction, in the interests of social, economic and political democracy. In our time free labor means the working people's control of their means of work and livelihood, as well as of their government.

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—AT&T

"The System Is the PROBLEM"

—THE PROGRESSIVE

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- The System puts profit ahead of people.

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"Government and business share the assumption that problems will disappear as production increases; the corollary is that big business offers the surest way to increase production. Open government is impossible so long as corporate-sponsored economic growth is regarded as the highest good."

David P. Thelen
"Our Government: A Wholly Owned Subsidiary"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"Solar energy has begun to capture the American people's imagination. Clean, inexhaustible, capable of heating and cooling,

convertible to electric power, the sun offers the ideal solution to the world's energy crisis. It could become America's energy cornucopia—if Congress doesn't turn it into just another corporate asset to be exploited for the sake of private greed."

Mark Northcross
"Who Will Own the Sun?"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"The ad in *Forbes* is simple but seductive, the message clear: Come to North Carolina, where wages are low, profits are high, and unions are almost non-existent. North Carolina's "commitment" to a "favorable" atmosphere means that the state uses its unflagging power to guarantee a supply of cheap, abundant, submissive, and—most important—unorganized labor."

Barbara Koeppel
"Something Could Be Finer Than To Be in Carolina"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"Because the Defense Department and the corporations have the money, they can endow the schools with "free" or "inexpensive" materials that perpetuate militaristic values, racist attitudes, and sexual stereotypes. Our schools are cluttered with militaristic indoctrination and with conservative propaganda. ... I wonder why progressives are always on the defensive in these controversies."

Betty Medsger
"The 'Free' Propaganda That Floods the Schools"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

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IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Joseph D. Collins & Frances Moore Lappé

Food and politics: Scarcity amidst plenty

Cuba has always been a land of great agricultural potential. Yet, before the revolution Cuba spent over 20 percent of its foreign exchange to import food that the island's fertile valleys, plains and well-watered pastureland could easily have produced. Even with heavy food imports, most of the rural population had inadequate amounts of rice, beans and two or three belly-filling, low-nutrition, tubers and they had practically no milk, eggs, meat, fruits or vegetables.

Why such scarcity despite potential abundance? First, most of the population had no land: 70 percent of the island's total land was owned by 8 percent of all owners. At the heart of the divorce of agriculture and nutrition were the sugar estates, many American-owned, that controlled 70 to 75 percent of the arable land.

The large estates kept more than half of their land idle. With a limited international sugar market and widespread poverty preventing the growth of a local market for diversified food crops, there was little incentive to plant. Selling the unplanted land to peasants, latifundistas feared, would undercut the labor supply because land-owning peasants might not need to work for the large estates.

Food crop cultivation declined so much in Cuba that by the early 1930s it was necessary to pass a law requiring sugar companies to let employees grow food during the six-month "dead season" when they were not working the sugar plantations. Most companies resisted.

►The food revolution.

In May 1959 the face of Cuban agriculture changed radically. More than 100,000 small tenants and sharecroppers were given the land they had been cultivating. The large latifundia were nationalized.

The first reform allowed private farms as large as 990 acres. But because many of the larger remaining private owners sought to undermine the government by cutting back on production, it became necessary to expropriate all farms over 167 acres in 1963.

These reforms made it possible to diversify and increase food production. In the first three years of the Revolution bean production shot up 136 percent, rice

96 percent, corn 92 percent, potatoes 46 percent—all the most basic staples of the people's traditional diet.

New land was opened up and some land previously given over to sugar was put into food production. Large investments were made in irrigation and machinery to increase food production. Existing dam capacity today is almost five times that of 1959. In all one and a quarter million acres of farmland are now irrigated.

►A role for sugar: Cuba vs. Dominican Republic.

Looking at countries like pre-revolutionary Cuba and Puerto Rico, observers often blame sugar monoculture for the misery of the people. This is superficially true. But contrasting Cuba today with the Dominican Republic, a country that has undergone rapid "sugarization," shows that other considerations are more important.

Estimates indicate that at least three-fourths of all agricultural land in the Dominican Republic serves foreign consumers. Sugar, coffee and cocoa exports alone take up 56 percent of the total cropland. Increasing quantities of fruits and vegetables are exported. A significant percent of the country's pastureland produces meat for export. Moreover, high quality vegetable protein is grown for animal feed.

Despite the urgent need for food for local consumption—and the prior need of so many to have access to land to grow food (over half the country's farmers have inadequate sized farms and an estimated 100,000 rural families have no land at all), the sugar estates over the last 20 years have doubled their acreage. This "sugarization" has been intensified by Gulf and Western, which entered the Dominican Republic in 1967 and is now one of the country's largest landholders.

The promotion of export crop production means that the Dominican Republic's agricultural output has increased an impressive 7.7 percent a year since 1968. But food production for Dominicans may actually be decreasing.

Not surprisingly, in 1969, the diets of 70 percent of all low and middle income Dominicans were below minimum standards for nutritional well-being.

The lives of Cubans before the revolution could be described in similar terms.

Many Cubans had what Che Guevara once referred to as "a fetishistic idea [that] connected sugar with our dependence on imperialism and with the misery in rural areas. At the beginning of the revolution, therefore, not only were food crops promoted but sugar production was neglected in what turned out to be an over-hasty emphasis on import-substitute industrialization. In due time, however, a workable policy emerged through experience. Sugar production for export, it turned out, need not be and now is not the enemy of the people."

After years of experimentation and working to overcome a lack of technical knowledge about food production among rural people whose experience was only in sugar, the Agrarian Reform Institute developed a national decentralization policy in 1969. It combined intensive cultivation of export crops along with production of varied food staples for local self-sufficiency.

One area might concentrate on sugar cane, another on citrus fruits, a third on livestock, with the farmers cooperating according to an overall national plan. This local specialization increased production and marketing efficiency. But alongside of commercial farms were farms growing vegetables and other food for local consumption.

As a result there have been substantial advances in local food production. From 1971 to 1975, non-sugar agricultural production increased by 38 percent. In the same period vegetable production for the local population more than doubled and fruit production increased by over 60 percent. Egg production amounts to 1.7 billion, more than six times that of 1958. Poultry meat production has increased four times since 1963. Pork production is threefold the 1963 figure and sugar-cane waste products and food wastes have been increasingly used in feeding pigs.

Thus the first major contrast between Cuba today and the Dominican Republic is that in Cuba sugar is no longer produced to the detriment of local food production. Between 1971 and 1974 Cuban food consumption increased 20 percent and with virtually no increase in food prices.

Second, the foreign exchange earnings from exports of sugar play a very different role in the economies of countries like Cuba and Dominican Republic. In Cuba earnings from sugar exports help pay for the import of a broad range of goods for productive, job-producing industries. In the Dominican Republic, foreign exchange earnings are largely squandered on imports of luxury consumer goods. In fact, such imports brought the Dominican Republic close to a trade deficit in 1974, the very year sugar prices went up more than 400 percent.

Third, in countries dominated by privately-owned (often foreign) exporting companies a price rise for the country's commodity is not likely to benefit agricultural laborers. In the Dominican Republic windfall profits for a few caused

by a rise in the world market price for sugar set off inflation at home and reduced the real income of the people. Gulf and Western brags that it has raised a cutter's wages from \$1.26 per ton in 1966 to \$1.75 per ton in 1976. (By working all day very hard a cutter can cut two to five tons, depending on the quality of the crop.) But this 39 percent wage increase is overshadowed by consumer price index rise of 86 percent. The real wage of the cane cutter is less than it was 10 years ago.

The yearly income of the cane cutter is, moreover, much less than these figures, since the sugar season lasts only a few months. The office of the Secretary of Agriculture of the Dominican Republic estimates that the bottom 50 percent of the population actually earns less than 20 cents a day; 18 cents of that must be spent on food that supplies only 60 percent of the calories they need. In Cuba, by contrast, little malnutrition remains as evidenced by the rapid decline in infant death rates associated with poor nutrition during the last decade.

Finally, Cuba's sugar exports are within an altogether different trading framework than that which exists for non-socialist countries. Cuba's sugar production is no longer controlled by private corporations. Thus planning is possible. The greater part of Cuban sugar exports is now handled through inter-governmental economic agreements. Cuba does not make the mistake of relying on this export income to import food needed for the basic well-being of the people. The only major food imports by Cuba today are rice, milk products and wheat, and domestic production of rice and milk are increasing dramatically. From the earliest days of the revolution, the Cuban people have understood that self-determination is not possible without basic food self-reliance.

When thinking of food-dependent and impoverished people, one too often concludes that the problem is resource scarcity. Or, at best, one supposes that feeding everyone instead of only the elite minority would require using every last acre for domestic food production. The latest 20 years of Cuban history have proven this untrue. Even though more than 40 percent of all cropland under public control in Cuba is used to grow sugar, enough food is produced to insure a nutritious diet for every Cuban. When national resources are controlled by all of the people and used in their interest, food self-reliance can be achieved even where agricultural products are major export items.

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins are codirectors of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Their book, written with Cary Fowler, *First Food: Beyond the myth of scarcity*, will be published in March. Lappé is author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. Their column appears regularly. Syndicated In These Times.

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Letters

What about Russia and China?

Editor:

In discussing the failure of popular socialism in the U.S., Roberta Lynch mentions (*ITT*, Jan. 26) two possible causes: (1) American workers are bought off by consumerism; and (2) American socialists have failed to present themselves as "serious contenders in the electoral process."

Far out! Fantastic! Incredible! No-where does she even suggest that a large reason for the failure of popular socialism here is the tarnishing of socialist ideals by Russia, China and other satellites. Don't Ms. Lynch, *ITT* and the New American Movement know that American workers have come to see socialism as the totalitarian monstrosity that exists in Russia and China? For what should American workers give up their rights to dissent, assemble, organize and strike? For Gulag Archipelago and up to 60 million murdered? For a distribution of wealth less equitable than that in most advanced Western countries?

The task of American socialists is clear: to chart out a course independent of Washington, Moscow, and Peking. How many radicals at this moment are willing to do this? Almost all are tied to one of the three and therefore have nothing to offer American workers, many of whom are not so foolish.

There will be no popular socialism in this country until there is a genuinely independent socialist movement untainted by capitalist reformism or by Stalinist bureaucratism. The leadership for such a movement will come not from academics, but from the workingclass itself, which, for all its serious errors, does not confuse totalitarian despotism with socialist democracy.

—Marvin Mandell
W. Rosbury, Mass.

And what about the Arabs?

Editor:

In These Times has demonstrated an independence of thought in a wide range of areas. But despite the general tenor of the journal and despite your explicit promise in your Jan. 12 issue to present a variety of views on the Arab-Israeli conflict, you have yet to present the issues in the Middle East from a left Israeli perspective. Left wing writers like Sol Stern and Barry Rubin could provide a useful contrast to the rhetorical bombast presented by the Middle East Research Project in your Jan. 19 issue.

In the wake of slaughter in Lebanon the article opposes a diplomatic settlement in the Middle East and supports the call for the destruction of Israel. Evidently like Col. Qaddafi the people of MERIP are willing to fight to the last Palestinian. The article is based on a number of assumptions that have generally gone unchallenged in American left wing publications. It makes an analytic distinction between the Palestinians and their Saudi financiers. This would no doubt come as a surprise to Saudi King Khalid, who in a recent trip to France was bargaining his economic support for Giscard d'Estaing in his fight against the coalition of the left in return for further French support for the Palestinians.

The labels of left and right often make little sense in a Middle Eastern context. The warring armies in Lebanon were both led by feudal chieftans. And what precisely is left wing about the Palestinians? How is it that they have shown little interest in experimenting with socialist forms of organization in the areas that have been under their control? That labelling process has mysti-

fied some of the realities of the Middle East like the slaughter of half a million blacks by the Arab Sudanese or the genocidal campaign against the Kurds by the "socialist" government of Iraq. And here within the U.S., have Spiro Agnew and Exxon become left wing through their support of the Arab cause?

The Middle East undoubtedly represents one of the greatest intellectual failures of the new left. In the left press the continuity between the response to Israel by feudal Islamic leaders and the current "revolutionaries" has been obfuscated by sloganeering calls for a secular democratic state. Those slogans were specifically designed for western audiences but have been given little play within the Arab world where (with the possible exception of Lebanon in days gone by) there are no secular or democratic states, let alone both. Similarly the calls for the creation of a Palestinian state obscure the history of the area. What is needed is not the creation of a Palestinian entity but its recreation. There was a Palestinian state in 1948, like Israel a U.N. creation. But it was destroyed in the attack on Israel by the Arab armies. The Arab hostility to Israel preceded and was not created by the mournful existence of the Palestinian refugees, themselves victims of a war launched by their brethren.

In These Times has taken the lead in cutting away some of the stale rhetoric of the last decade in discussing electoral politics, unions and other issues, it should extend the same treatment to the Middle East. The job of socialists is to speak the truth to power, even when that power is cloaked in revolutionary garb.

—Fred Siegel
Brooklyn, N.Y.

And furthermore, what about the IRA?

Editor:

I was extremely interested to read David Moberg's commentary concerning the American tour of the general secretary of Sinn Fein, Marin de Burca (*ITT*, Jan. 12). As Moberg noted, there are some very admirable aspects to Sinn Fein (the political wing of the official IRA) e.g. their opposition to an immediate British withdrawal and their support of the newly emerged peace movement. Compared to the Provisionals, the Officials are saints—please pardon the irony!

However, Moberg neglected to mention some of the serious shortcomings of the Officials. Firstly, they are an orthodox Moscow-oriented Communist party with a definite Stalinist image. Secondly, while claiming to understand Protestant opposition to a united Ireland, they still advocate such a "solution." Many Northern Irish socialists, including Catholics such as myself, see the issue of an united Ireland as divisive and indicative of a failure to really comprehend Ulster nationalism. For an important discussion of the point, please let me recommend Tom Nairn's fine article in the fall issue of *Liberation*.

—Sean Connelly
Ithaca, N.Y.

Women are still singing!

Editors:

In These Times has qualities I really like: its analyses are thoughtful and it's written in English, not in leftist jargon. But continuing to ignore the women's movement is a mistake; first, because a considerable percentage of those now actively campaigning for change are women, and second, because doing so results in bad reporting.

Steve Chapple's article, "Where have all the folk songs gone" (*ITT*, Jan. 26), seems to have fallen into the latter trap. Women musicians have avoided the economic censorship Chapple laments by establishing their own record companies or working through a company

sympathetic to activists. My favorite Marxist singer-songwriter, for example, is Holly Near (Redwood Records), who was radicalized during the war and went from war protests to feminism and socialism. Her current songs reflect her activism on behalf of women, United Farm Workers, women prisoners, and the unemployed. Certainly you remember the outspoken socialist Malvina Reynolds, the writer of "Little Boxes." She just produced a record with Cassandra Records. Those who have produced records to comfort and encourage feminists in our struggle include Casse Sluver, the Berkeley Women's Music Collective, Chris Williamson, Meg Christian (Olivaria); Kay Gardner (Wise Women); Ginny Clemmens (Open Door); Ami Pierce (Pinewood); Hazel and Alice, the Chicago and New Haven's women's liberation bands, the Arlington Street Women's Caucus (Rounder); and Margie Adams (Pleiades). Many others like Kristin Lems of the National Women's Music Festival seem to be too busy entertaining at demonstrations to produce records.

Our music hasn't degenerated into leftist nostalgia because the movement itself is alive and healthy.

—Carol Dussere
Lexington, Ky.

Still a Jew

Editor:

Jonathan Wolf's letter (*ITT*, Jan. 12) condemning my Middle East column cannot be left unanswered. Wolf, of course, is more than welcome to criticize my ideas. It was the ad hominem character of his reply that troubles me.

Wolf begins by comparing my article to that of a woman or black writing a sexist or racist piece. He generously allows that my anti-Jewishness may be only unconscious! I am deeply offended by such character assassination. My Mid-

dle East perspectives follow definite Jewish (even Zionist!) traditions. My views reflect the socialist bi-national position of Hashomer Hatzair and currently are in substantial agreement with Moked and the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. Are we to suppose that these Israeli groups were or are "anti-Jewish."

The Middle East is, of course, a very sensitive issue and emotions run deep. There is, however, no excuse for Mr. Wolf's insinuations.

—Simon Rosenblum
Johnson City, N.Y.

Power to the people

Editor:

In your Jan. 26 issue you picture "gorilla war" against Commonwealth Edison's rate increase request.

The People's Power Project, who organized the demonstration in conjunction with the Illinois Public Action Council, find the rate increase designed solely to promise higher dividend checks to Com. Ed. stockholders. We find questionable the motive of building more nuclear and conventional power plants to generate unneeded electricity at a yet higher cost.

These facts are almost secondary to the tremendous corporate growth of Com. Ed. and other large private utilities, which are all controlled by a few Wall Street banks and large industrial corporations. The nation's electrical energy supply is being treated as a means to enhance profitability instead of as a dwindling natural resource.

We at People's Power Project are working against this flagrant abuse of the public trust by a few who place profits at a higher priority than the needs of people who depend on their services. The PPP gladly invites comments and questions about our activities and welcomes citizen participation for a cause of everyone's concern.

—Frank Kutyla
Chicago (477-5248 or 871-6326)

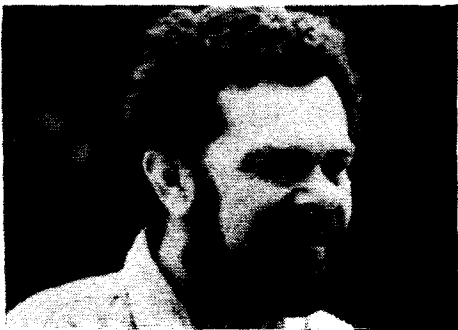
Coming next week!

"The Factory"

An *In These Times* cartoon strip featuring:



RATSUS ANOTHER YOUNG RAT, WHO WANTS TO BE A REGULAR CAT, MAKE SOME BREAD, JUMP IN BED, DRINK SOME BEER, NOT STAY HERE, AND BUY A TOUGH SET OF WHEELS.



Mervyn Jones

Enoch Powell speech helps switch on British racism

Racism, the festering sore spot of British politics, has once again been rubbed raw because of a speech by Enoch Powell. Though often denying that he is a racist, Powell is certainly the hero of all racists. His main thesis is that Britain cannot peacefully assimilate minorities of alien origin. The minorities he has in mind are the blacks (about one million, mainly from the West Indies but some Africans) and the Asians (also about one million, roughly half Indians and half Pakistanis). He never mentions the one million Irish, who are mostly "alien" in the sense of being citizens of the Republic of Ireland, or the white minorities of Polish, Italian, Hungarian or Greek-Cypriot origin.

In 1968 Powell caused a furor by predicting "rivers of blood." (So the phrase is remembered; he actually said, quoting a Roman poet: "The Tiber will flow with blood." Half elitist and half populist, Powell likes to show off his classical education.) Now he declares: "The occupation of key areas in the heartlands of the kingdom... points to the prospect of eventual conflict upon a scale that cannot adequately be described by any lesser term than civil war."

Politically, Powell is a maverick. After 24 years as a Tory MP, including a period as a Tory minister, he decided that all patriots should support a Labor government because of its opposition to letting Britain be so engulfed in Europe, the other subject on which Powell feels strongly. He then became MP—with the Unionist label, but virtually an independent—for a Northern Ireland constituency. His chances of office in either a Tory or a Labor government are zero. A collapse of the whole democratic structure could bring him to power as a sort of De Gaulle, but

that doesn't seem likely. Aged 64, he has not much more political life ahead.

He had nothing to say about the alien threat during the peak period of immigration. As Minister of Health (1960-63) he approved large-scale recruiting of nurses and hospital workers from the West Indies. It's naturally suspected that he cashed in on racist feeling, much as Joe McCarthy cashed in on anti-communism, to acquire political leverage. Be this as it may, he now plays his role of Cassandra with passionate conviction.

How much racist feeling there is in Britain is extremely hard to say. Keeping track over the years, it seems to be switched abruptly on and off, rather like anti-Jewish violence in Chaplin's *The Great Dictator*. Periods of tranquility are interrupted by explosions in one city or another and by scattered expressions of the so-called white backlash. The trigger may be a Powell speech or an incident blown up by the media.

In May 1976, for example, a small group of Indians from Malawi exercised their right to come to Britain. Indians in several African nations retain British citizenship dating from colonial times. Classifying them as homeless persons, the Council for the area near the airport where they landed took on an obligation to give them temporary housing, and ham-handedly installed them (to their bewilderment) in a first-class hotel. The news was meat and drink to racists. The inflammation of the race issue was immediate and the temperature hasn't yet gone down to normal.

But the only happenings that could be described as race riots—and they were mild by comparison with American experience in the 1960s—occurred back in 1958. In 1976 we had a series of back-

street attacks on individuals (the victims were Asians, seen as more vulnerable than blacks) by racist youths armed with knives, including two murders. There is much evidence of police indifference, and self-defense by the minorities—though frowned on by Labor ministers—is the best safeguard.

As a reporter I took a look at Spitalfields, a socially and physically decaying area of slum houses and tailoring sweatshops in London's East End. It was here that Mosley's fascists attempted a reign of terror against Jews in the 1930s. The Jews have now moved out and have been replaced by Bangladeshis. For a period, it was unsafe for them to leave their homes after dark. The formation of an Anti-Racist Committee, with protective patrols and speedy alarm signals, has made the streets safe again. The organizer of ARC, a woman of impressive courage and energy, stressed to me that no help had been forthcoming from white citizens, the Labor party (which dominates the area politically) or trade unions, and this is the most saddening aspect of the situation.

Outright racist—and in ideology distinctly fascist—organizations increased their strength during 1976, as one must expect in a period of spreading unemployment and worsening social conditions. Luckily the far Right is as prone to splitting and internecine conflict as the far Left. The National Front, the National party and others compete for the available following. Racist candidates in by-elections for Parliament have pulled around 8 percent of the votes. This is a rise on their earlier showing but very far from a breakthrough.

Their problem, and Powell's problem, is that the minorities are obviously

here to stay. Racists advocate "repatriation," but this is an absurdity. Almost half the blacks or Asians were born in Britain, their parents having come here in the 1950s. Among black men, marriages to white women are fairly frequent. It's safe to say that most British people, while not apostles of racial tolerance, see that it's impossible to put the clock back.

Powell's speech has led to demands that he should be prosecuted under the Race Relations Act, which provides penalties for utterances inciting racial hatred. The existing law requires evidence of intent; a strengthened law, penalizing any speech "reasonably likely" to incite racial hatred, has passed Parliament but isn't yet in effect, a fact that was doubtless in Powell's mind. A Labor MP has nevertheless announced his intention to launch a private prosecution against Powell, saying that the intent can be inferred from the choice of words.

However, some liberals and also some minority spokesmen have urged that a prosecution would only help Powell by enabling him to wear the martyr's robes. The difficulty is that several street-corner racist orators have been prosecuted and penalized over the years. It could be charged that Powell is immune because he is a prominent figure and of "respectable" social status, or because of the formidable performance he would put up in court.

Such dilemmas are perhaps insoluble. The sad truth is that, while the minorities are here to stay, racism is too.

Mervyn Jones has worked as assistant editor of the London Tribune and of the Newstatesman. He has recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry, and is also a novelist.

DIALOG

Editor:

Alan Wolfe's article, "The Trilateralals" or "Carter kills populist hopes early—It's now up to the left to organize" (ITT, Jan. 12), contains allegations that are not supported by fact.

Carter "has already broken just about every progressive promise he made during the campaign." This is hyperbole. While Carter's cabinet selection is most discouraging, his legislative package for domestic reforms has not been released. We do not know what his program for the cities will be, the full extent of his tax reforms currently being limited at, nor the broader interpretations he will make in foreign policy. To condemn the new administration for broken promises, purely on the basis of his cabinet selections, is to suggest that people like Ray Marshall, the progressive economist to head Labor, and Andrew Young, and Joseph Califano are meaningless figures.

"Populism is out, and the Trilateral Commission is in." It should be obvious to most people who followed the campaign closely that Carter's political appeal was a blend of domestic populism and, in foreign policy, a preservationist attitude about American foreign power.

"The appointments made by Carter reflect the greatest domination of the federal government by Wall Street since Herbert Hoover." One of the more interesting aspects of news coverage in the transition period has been the analysis of corporate ties. The best report I have found is William Greider's in the Washington Post (Dec. 26, 1976). While cri-

tical of the business ties in the Cabinet, Greider points out that recent Democratic administrations have been equally beholden to the Eastern powers. Wolfe's statement in this regard, by itself, demands a full documentation before one can make a comparative judgment about the corporate links of Carter and his predecessors.

Moreover, in three relatively brief paragraphs, Wolfe presents a highly simplistic analysis of the Trilateral's philosophy. I do not understand how Wolfe can call Carter's bureaucratic reorganization plan "a reliance on what could be called post-Keynesian economic policy"—when that very program has not yet been presented to Congress. Another arresting, and unsupported statement is this remark on the Trilateral Commission: "...But in reality their plans are highly illiberal, for they all involve controls on the working class in order to protect the capitalist system as a whole."

What plans? Nowhere in the article does Wolfe cite literature produced by the Trilateral Commission. If there are such dark plans in the works by the Trilateral people, which "involve controls on the working class," why the hell aren't they exposed in full?

I do not take Wolfe's basic thesis at all lightly. But it seems to me readers of the left are better served by analysis grounded in facts we don't get from the conventional press, in news drawn out of circles where information is guarded, and in political analysis which

does not reflect the view of Berkeley philosophers, but rather the larger realities before us—not predictions of them.

It's not my purpose here to carry Jimmy Carter's flag, but to question printing highly subjective analysis.

—Jason Berry
New Orleans

Berry was Charles Evers' press secretary in the 1971 Mississippi governor's race, and is author of *Amazing Grace*, a study of Evers and changing Southern politics.

Alan Wolfe responds:

If Jason Berry wants to wait a few years before expressing his disappointment with Carter, that's ok by me. But there is little doubt in my mind that Berry will be joining me at some time or another. The only question is when.

Carter has shown one striking ability: He has somehow convinced men like Jason Berry, Robert Scheer and Norman Birnbaum that he deserves a chance. I think I understand this. So many of us have been burned so often that this time we really want to believe. We will grasp at any straw in the wind that indicates our new President will not go the route of the past four. I want to believe that too. I voted for Carter. Part of me yearns to agree with Berry, to proclaim with him that we must wait before passing judgment on this man. I too want to give Carter a chance. But there is a reason I cannot. He has not given me, and people who think like me, a chance. We have no choice but to return the favor.

I don't think Jason Berry understood the argument in my column. It was written in praise of Carter. My point was that I was glad he made the appoint-

ments he did, for in doing so he did the left a favor. He reminded us of our illusions. He ground power into our faces. He treated those who provided him with his margin of victory with the kind of contempt that only a man with four years of unchecked power can.

Berry can wait for Carter's legislative package, but how can he expect it to deal with unemployment when Schultz has already said that we will have to live with 6 percent? He can wait for domestic reform, but Califano is already throwing around hints that his goals for HEW will be minimal. He can wait for Carter to change the direction of American foreign policy, but the major differences between Brzezinski and Kissinger is in their accents. He can wait for anti-business moves, but Blumenthal is a Wall Street honcho. If there is to be any substantial change in the direction of American politics it will not come from these men but from ordinary people putting so much pressure on the democratic process that it will have to meet their demands or be rendered immobile.

To be sure, I am concerned about the Trilateral Commission. Berry should read their report, The Governability of Democracies. This report calls for controls on the working class. It is one of the most dangerous pieces of social science to be written in this country. The man who wrote the section on the United States is a Carter adviser. Are we to ignore those who would control us, when they proudly announce their intentions?

The more I reflect on Carter's Cabinet selections, the more amazed I become. When a President turns over the government to a Rockefeller-financed, unrepresentative think-tank, some of whose members have publicly come out for controls on the democratic process, we had better start defending ourselves. If Jason Berry does not agree with me now, he soon will. ■

Editorial

Carter surrenders to corporate interests

President Jimmy Carter's fiscal package may be tested against two basic American values. Is it pragmatic? And is it democratic? This is a fair test since the American people generally believe in a democratic pragmatism devoted to the general welfare.

Carter has gone to great lengths to cast himself in the image of Franklin D. Roosevelt, complete with televised chats by the White House fireside. Roosevelt is known as the consummate pragmatist, and Carter and his advisers like to be known as "a group of earnest hard-driving pragmatists." (Leonard Silk, *New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1976.)

A pragmatist applies rational means to achieving desired ends, free from prejudice, customary bias, or vested interest. During the campaign, Carter's stated ends were full employment without inflation, and at least in the first year of his term a reduction in the unemployment rate to below 7 percent. His fiscal package will not come close to doing that.

Instead, Carter has changed his ends to fit means that are not free of bias or interest. He has redefined full employment as 5 percent unemployment, up from 2 percent definition after World War II, and from the 4 percent definition a few years ago. He has told us that a 5-7 percent unemployment rate is a "likely prospect" through 1980.

Like all the experts, Carter acknowledges that an annual growth rate well above 6 percent would be necessary to reduce unemployment significantly. But the highest sustained growth rate of the corporate economy since World War II was the 5.4 percent level in the 1961-1966 boom, and Carter's program settles for 5.5 percent or less through 1980.

Carter's pragmatism, like FDR's, is the kind that convinces the people to put up with high unemployment and a stagnant, inequitable economy over a relatively long period. It is not the kind that actually solves economic problems. But this is not the 1930s. It remains to be seen whether Carter will have any more success in the 1970s than did Ford.

In any real sense, Carter and his advisers are no pragmatists. As Thorstein Veblen might have told them, rather than take effective measures to establish a healthy economy, they limit their options to the social constraints and ideological preconceptions of corporate capitalism. Carter says, "I believe in a free market system and always have," and again, "I wouldn't want to disrupt the free enterprise system." Rational, pragmatic economics, and capitalism are two different things. You can't have both.

Corporate capitalism is a social system and an ideology that commands and exploits our economy. In America, you are an "ideologue" if you want to deal with economic problems in the most practically effective way, and a "pragmatist" if you insist on the prerogatives of capital. An expanding public sector, embracing energy, transportation, housing, education, health and medical and other programs, public planning by democratic discussion and for the democratic ends of equal opportunity and wider participation in running the economy, would limit corporate growth and power.

By this standard, the founders of American pragmatism, Charles S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey were "ideologues." They all believe that the profit system was incompatible with social efficiency, true individuality, and democratic values in an industrial, cooperative society such as the United States had already become in their times and is today.

That brings us to the second test. Is Carter's package democratic? Here nothing better illustrates the chasm between the electoral process and the policy-making power in the nation's political structure. As *Business Week* (Feb. 7) and all other informed observers have pointed out, Carter's package is drawn in terms almost identical to those programs pushed by such corporate planning agencies as the Committee for Economic Development and the Business Roundtable. The program is designed to win "business confidence." It centers on a tax rebate for individuals and investment



tax credits for corporations, rather than on full employment planning and efficient use of resources for solving major social and economic problems.

In effect, the Corporate Power, through its domination of the Executive branch, exercises a veto on the results of the electoral process. It holds the same veto power in readiness for use against the Congress. Whatever the written Constitution, the U.S.'s real constitution includes private governments called corporations that can nullify the people's will either by controlling the Executive branch, or by sabotaging economic programs passed by Congress, in effect staging a capital strike that no injunction can reach.

Carter's package, like his longer-term outlook, is democratic neither in formulation nor design. It represents corporate priorities virtually to the exclusion of proposals from labor, black leaders, women's groups, the conference of Mayors, and other noncorporate sources.

Carter's program dramatically reveals that corporate capitalism cannot be squared with pragmatic and democratic

approaches to the nation's urgent social and economic problems. By campaigning on appeals to the people's democratic aspirations and then framing policy dictated by corporate priorities, Carter and all other such politicians, however well-intentioned, demean the electoral process and undermine popular respect for the practical efficacy of representative democracy.

The people's recourse now is to formulate programs for democratic planning for full employment and social progress in conferences within and among their own organizations. They can propagate these programs and press them upon Congress, and they can prepare to elect to Congress people from their own ranks who will fight for them. They can let Congress and the President know that they cannot serve two masters—both the corporate system and the constitutional obligation to provide for the general welfare. Socialists, especially now, are in a position to appeal to the American people's sense of pragmatism and democracy against the corporate ideologues.

Repression in Russia and Eastern Europe

The State Department's condemnation of Czechoslovakia for its harassment of the signers of Charter '77 and its subsequent warning to Moscow not to silence Andrei D. Sakharov, the prominent Soviet dissident, seem to be little other than propaganda ploys, designed for home consumption. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and President Carter assert that they had no advance notice of the State Department's criticism, but that they agree with its thrust. At the same time, however, Vance declined to extend such criticism to Chile and South Korea, both of which at present are considerably more repressive than the Soviets.

In fact, Soviet and Czech dissidents can expect little more help from the new administration than from the old, both of which cynically exploit dissenters for their own political ends.

But the lack of political freedom in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe is a matter of genuine concern for socialists everywhere, both because it violates the basic principles of socialism and because what happens in the world's first socialist country and in its European sphere of influence tends to define what people everywhere, even in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, understand and perceive

socialism to be. It is important to understand why the Soviets and the Eastern European governments are the way they are; and it is equally important to do whatever can be done to democratize them.

There are several historical reasons for the character of Soviet and Eastern European society. Although Russia had a socialist revolution in 1917 it was then, and remains, a society without democratic experience or tradition.

The semi-feudal czarist regime that the Bolsheviks overthrew was the most repressive and bureaucratic in all of Europe. Free association, free speech, democratic elections were virtually unknown, and while they were issues raised in the course of the revolutionary struggle, they were not the central issues that brought the Communists to power. The slogans of the revolution were Bread, Land, and Peace.

Immediately after the seizure of power there was a short-lived flowering of democratic participation and activity, but with the start of counter-revolutionary civil war, supported by direct intervention from the major European powers and the U.S., all the old authoritarian habits reasserted themselves under the pressure of military necessity. For many reasons

the old ways have never since been fully overcome, either within the party or in society at large.

The Eastern European regimes have a different history, but one that has produced the same results. With the exception of Yugoslavia, which managed to break out of the direct Soviet sphere of influence in 1949, none of the Eastern European nations had their own revolutions.

The Communist regimes came to power as a result of the division of European spheres of influence. At first, following World War II, they justified their repressive governments as necessary within the context of the Cold War. Since countries like Hungary, Poland, and, to a lesser degree, Czechoslovakia, still had substantial pro-capitalist and pro-Western elements, democracy might have threatened the pro-Soviet governments, and thus Russian security.

But as the Cold War began to thaw, and particularly later with detente, Soviet security lost persuasiveness as a reason for the status quo and revolts broke out against the lack of democracy and the slow pace of material progress. These expressed different tendencies, some looking backward to the old regimes, others

forward to a democratic socialism.

The rise of Eurocommunism in western Europe has strengthened the hand of the dissidents who look toward a more democratic socialism while it has inhibited both the West and the Soviets from brutal maneuvers. The most recent expressions of dissatisfaction give reason for optimism. They do not speak for capitalist restoration, or for the Church, but for democratic socialism. Nevertheless, both the Soviet Union and the Eastern European regimes of Poland and Czechoslovakia have clamped down on the dissidents.

In Western Europe, the main support for dissent has come from the Communist parties themselves. In the U.S. the Carter administration has now emerged as the leading public force against the repression.

But the only possible path away from repressive government for the Soviets or Eastern Europe lies in the direction of democratic socialism. It is particularly important, therefore, for socialists to speak up loudly and clearly as supporters of the movements of dissidents both in the Soviet Union and in the rest of Eastern Europe.